

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

UNDER THE SANCTION OF
THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 3. No. 1. —New Series.]

JANUARY 1, 1855.

(Price Fourpence Stamped,
Threepence Unstamped.)

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THE MAROONS.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

THE PLOT.

THE sun had long since sunk in the Indian Ocean, and the night had set in gloomy and dark. The negro had left off his long day's hard labour, to crouch for a few hours on his straw mat, the only article of furniture in his mud hut. On the sugar-estates a dead silence reigned, and the harsh voice of the terrible overseer was no longer heard: the cock had given his first nocturnal crow—the signal of repose—and but for the piercing cry of the *tec-tec*, or night-lark, as it hopped from sprig to spray, not a sound could now be heard.

At this hour one evening in the year 1833, four individuals, barely clad, might have been seen issuing from the buildings of the same plantation. They trod lightly, directing their steps, each by a different path, across a vast sugar-cane field, which extended like a green carpet to the foot of the Salazes, the highest chain of mountains in the island of Bourbon.

With the exception of one, who had been born in the colony, all these men were natives of the large island of Madagascar, from which they had been carried off by the slave-traders, to be sold to the whites. One belonged to the Ovas or Amboilama, a cross-breed between the Arabs and the whites: the second belonged to the tribe of the Antacimæ; a race possessing the characteristics of the Tahitians, but which had been overcome and subjugated, like the majority of the Malagassy nations, by the Amboilama, whose chief was the celebrated Radama. The third

was of the Sacalave tribe, descending from the Capres and the Arabs, whom the Ovas had never been able to subdue, notwithstanding the long and sanguinary wars in which they had plunged. But misery and servitude under the same master had not only made them equal, but united them in the bonds of friendship, and bound them to aid one another in shaking off their common yoke.

They went on for an hour, treading like the ostrich, and stopping short every now and then to listen for sounds, and, in order to avoid meeting any one, selecting the most secluded paths. At length they reached, almost at the same time, a thick hedge of aloes and brushwood, thorn and prickly pear, such as are usually to be found planted to mark the confines of colonial estates. It was a fearful and a dangerous barrier to pass through, and required more than temerity to attempt it. Nevertheless, they accomplished it, by creeping through the least bushy parts: but they did not succeed without leaving behind, on the strong thorns, a portion of their thin garments, and even some of their flesh. Having got through, they found themselves in one of those plains, in colonial parlance called a savannah, in the midst of which rose like a black spectre, an enormous tamarind-tree, that might have been taken for the genius of the place. It overlooked the whole plain, its enormous branches extending around and bending downwards, forming a huge cone, and in the day-time offering a shelter impenetrable to the sun. It was a retreat well known to the negro, who, often a wanderer on the plain, and overcome by heat and fatigue, sought its friendly shade, and blessed it as though it were a deity. The four slaves reached this spot in succession. They could

not be seen themselves, but from it they could discern every thing. They grouped themselves against the huge trunk, each taking up his position as he arrived, but not saying a word to break the dead silence.

The Sacalave was the first to speak:

"Yes," said he, as though pursuing the thread of a previous conversation, instead of commencing one: "yes, brothers, we been slaves long enough."

"Long enough," echoed the others.

"A'ter all," resumed the other, with warmth, "what we got to care for 'bout dyin'? What's death? Why need we be 'feard on him? What we got in dis world? We got any joy? any rest? any happiness? Dese all a mockery to us. Hard work; al'ays at it, and al'ays for de ole boss: cow-hidin's, misery, never-ending slavery, dat's our lot: and, brothers, I say, be dese things to make we hang to life? I cusses it: yes, I does, for I'se like the furnace dat's burnin' yunder up top of de mountain. Dere's sleep now. Most people looks on it like de friend of de slave. It don't nebber come to me, but al'ays goes away like a ole Maroon. I'se got to look on it like a enemy, 'ca'se I wants to die. De nigger dat sleeps is like de animal dat rolls in de mire. He can grunt, but he can't get 'way from de claws dat holds him."

Then ensued a brief pause, when he resumed:

"I al'ays got in my head dat time when de nigger stealers tore me 'way from de big land whar I left all I care for in dis world. Dey took me and loaded me wid chains, and tumbled me down into de hol'jis like ef I war a bale o' cotton or a bag o' sugar. I can't think how I di'n't kill myself 'fore their eyes, and rob 'em of de money dey 'xpected to get for me. It was my mother, I suppose. When I seen her chained up 'fore me, and near by, I thought she were more miserabler than me, and ef I didn't kear to live for myself, I ought to kear to live for her, and that may be we might n't find slavery so bad a'ter all. I been deceived. I seen my mother fall all bloody under the cowhide of the overseer; I seen her whipped to death, an' I could not help nor venge her. Brothers, we aint quite like bullocks dat drags de carts along. We be called slaves, and they make us chat-tels, but we got de sentiments and feelin's of men, and we got their instinct too. Dis what's riz up in me. I can't kip it down. It's growin' stronger an' stronger. 'Steard of growin' more humble; 'stead of being tamed down, I'se got to be a tiger. My heart's got to be so full o' hatred to Slavery, and so big wid hate to de masters, dat I'm brim full, and I'm ready to take revenge any how."

He stopped to suppress the vehement emotions which overcame him, and presently continued with greater calmness:

"Folks says Slavery ain't no wus than it used to be. I says there wa'n't room for it to grow wusser. Have I got ar a place on my body whar you can lay your little finger without laying it on a scar made by the whip? I won't say de house dog—he's de master's friend, and he's well treated—but I'll say de horse in de stable; he's a thousand times better off than we. He's got niggers to wait 'pon him: he's took out a walkin', and he gets his rest reg'lar: ef he eats only grass and corn he gets a plenty of both; so it aint no wonder he grows so sleek and fat, and pricks up his ears so sharp and proud. But we, brothers, we got on'y work, hidin's, and misery day and night: so we's skinned, lean, and hungry, and we goes about wid our heads hangin' down, tremblin' in de legs, and afeard and ashamed to shew ourselves among other men. For all dat every day you hears folks talk 'bout our bein' well off. How is we so, brothers? Ef we wants to walk out, a'ter our work's done, and we's tired and wants a change, can we do it? Aint dar de p'lice at de corners of de roads layin' in wait, like a ole wolf, to cotch us? And when we's cotched, we's handcuffed, and drove to jail, were we's forced to stop all night. Next morning we's took to de pillory or de whipping-post in de market-place, whar dey strips us stark naked afore all de people, and whips us till de blood makes de ground all a puddle. A'ter dat we's set to sweep de streets and 'pair de roads, wid a big chain round our necks. Dey says we's greedy. What we got to be greedy over? Hunger's al'ays greedy. We gets a bit of tapioca, which dey t'rows down 'fore us, jus like dey gives wash to de hogs. Dey wouldn't giv' us dat, on'y to kip us from famishing. When we's driv' by hunger at last to take a corn-cob—very likely we planted it ourselves, and watered wid our sweat—and we happens to be cotched, don't dey nigh kill us? Don't dey whip us; and twist our poor limbs; and tie us up to trees till we drops fainting; and bind our two thumbs wid wet cord; and keep us in dese horrible torments hours and hours? Don't dey put iron collars wid spikes on our necks; and horns and bells on our heads? Don't dey squeeze our heads or our feet 'tween two blocks of wood? Don't dey go so far as to muzzle us for fear we should eat de fruit dat falls from de trees and rots on de ground? Don't dey draw our teeth, too? Don't dey—but I won't go on, brothers: you knows it's all true. I says we been slaves long enough. It's time we took heart. It's time we broke our chains, and took our revenge. Revolt is our word now, and it must be our last work. Let's begin. Let's rouse de plantations, and rise all our brother-slaves at once. Let's bu'st on de island like a whirlwind. Let's take our revenge. Let's fire de fields our labour has

made fruitful, and knock down de houses we built up, whose masters have got rich by making us work for 'em. Let de ruins cover de ground, and let de ground dat's drunk up our sweat, get fat wid de blood of our tormentors."

These sentiments were echoed by a low growl of assent, when the Antacime thus spoke:—

"Our brother, Sacalave, brings up tings dat makes de tears come up out ob de heart. I can't talk like he: my tongue can't go 'long wid my thoughts. I can't tell all what I suffered, but I shan't never forget it. I was on'y a piccaninny when dey stole me from home. I used to look a'ter de oxen in de fields, and one evenin', jes as I was going back, somebody laid hold of me round de body. I cried out, and kicked, and struggled, but de man put a gag in my mouth, and beat me near senseless, and told me he'd kill me. He then bound my arms behind my back, and taking me up like a log of wood, ran off wid me ever so far."

"We knows what it is," chimed in the others.

"Yes," resumed the other, "and you can feel what I felt when dey got me 'board de ship, and I began to think 'bout my friends and relations, and dat I was made a slave. Dey cut de rope off my arm, and put me in a dark place 'long wid ever so many more. Dey got ebber so many ob dese yer cabins, whar dey locked in de oder niggers, 'ca'se dey feared on 'em, dere was so many. We was like in a coffin, shut in wid de dying and de dead: we couldn't hardly breathe, and we went near to die wid de heat and thirst. Dey on'y giv' us salt things to eat, and some of dem stinked so, we couldn't eat em."

"Yes, yes, what de niggers suffers 'board ship is right down horrid cruel," said one of the others. "I knows what it is, for dey made me eat de flesh of our dead broders, and when we got chased by a man-o'-war cruizer, dey t'rowd my broder overboard 'long wid a lot more: all alive."

"I don't know," resumed the previous speaker, "what dey giv'n us to eat. It makes me sick now to think of it. I don't know either wedder dey t'rowed overboard any live niggers; I was too young to know every thing: but I seen 'em smash in with a iron-bar, de heads of de niggers who looked out of de cabin windows to breathe."

"Like as ef dey kill de drownin' man when his head 'bove water," said one of the others.

"Jes so," was the response.

"Ah, God nebber forget dat ar," ejaculated the third speaker.

"Nor me neider, broders," pursued the Antacime, his eyes glowing like live coals. "I seems to see now two of dem poor creatur's, wid their murdered faces looking

up at us as dey fell down, struggling for blessed life, and coverin' us wid blood. Many long days and nights we was kep' shut up till at last dey landed us here in Bourbon. We war took out of de ship more like dead, and put into canoes which dey crammed full, and den shove' us all in de baracoons on de shore. I was so weak, and dey beat me to make me walk and hold up my head, dat I can't remember nothing more till I come to in a big shed. When I woke my heart was ready to break. It wanted never to wake no more. But broders, though its bad enough to be beat, and starved, and flayed, it aint nothing to the torments of seeing your wife and children sold at public auction, and beat naked before de eyes of every body. Dis de real suffrin'—ca'se de mind can't bear it like de body bears blows. It makes one feel like mad, and as if one would like to kill everybody, or take one's own life."

A murmur of assent was given to this declaration. The speaker resumed, but in a more excited tone:

"De oder day de massa called Kaila to him. She seen someting wicked in his eye, an' she wouldn't go. He called her again, coxin' like; but she hanged down her head, and didn't go none the more. Den he got angry and ax'ed ef she wa'nt coming quick; and when he seen she got more frightened den ebber, he got her laid hold of, stript and flogged her, and den shaved her head and trowed her in de black hole. Here's anoder ting. You seen de beautiful Ravana wid de big iron collar round her neck, and her hair all cut off. Well, dat war for de same 'fence. Dar aint no justice whar de massa can do jes' what he likes. If he kills any body, and de ting get talked 'bout, he on'y got to say de man died of sickness. But I tell you what, broders: we's in fault too. Dese tings been altered long time ago if niggers wa'nt as dey be towards one another. Day 'fore yesterday, de picaninny Koutkel picked up a half-rotten mango. He war hungry and ate it. Some of de people tell'd de massa, and den he told a nigger to hold de boy while he beat him. De massa could n't do no'ting widout de niggers. Be n't it de niggers themselves makes de holes in de ground where dey puts de breedin' women in to flog 'em? Be n't it dey ties us up to de whippin' posts and de pickets? Be n't it dey dat's al'ays a spyin' out and tellin' everything dey see? I says de niggers is a'most as bad as de massas. Dey flatters de very folks dat heaps up such misery on 'em, and dey 'beys 'em and sets 'em agin thar own colour, 'stead of tryin' to argue wid one 'noder like friends, and 'fusin' to act 'gin their bredren. Why can't dey get togeder and say to de massas, 'We got hands and feet and blood like you, and we won't be trampled on no longer.' It's to 'tempt dis yer we come to

palaver to-night, but if we does it, broders, don't let us burn, and plunder, and kill. Dat make God angry. We strong enough to get free widout killing anybody. Den why we burn de houses and 'stroy de fields? Dey aint done us no harm, and when we free we shall want 'em. When we palavered it well over, we'll go back to our friends, divide 'em into bands, and last of all, get all togeder, all at once, one day. We so strong in numbers, de massas be 'feard to sist us. Den we cry out all togeder, 'We free, we free,' and free we shall be. De massas 'll live in de country all de same, only dey wont be no more dan we. If dey wont, we will leave 'em de ships to go out of de country. Dat's my 'pinion. I gived it like I feels it. Now for anoder."

The Capre then spoke:

"In coming here brothers," he said, "my thoughts said I should not speak. I should listen. But you want my heart. I will give it you. The thing has thorns, but the silence of the mouth should not make the heart cry out. I will not tell you of my sufferings. Why should I? It would do no good. Do not we all know what a slave's life is? To tell you again of the torments we suffer in common, would not be to extinguish it but to fan the fire. To come to the point, brothers; you wish to revolt?"

"Yes! Yes!" answered they.

"And so do I," he answered; "our miserable fate justifies the attempt. But I am afraid we shall fail. Our brother Antacime, and our brother Sacalave have spoken of rising together, and of the revolt being general. Excuse me, I have no confidence in it."

"What! aint de others in de same fire as we?" asked the Sacalave.

"I do not deny it, brothers, but you have yourselves said there is no unity amongst you. How then can we risk speaking of a plan for a general rising? We might gain one, two, or three, and the fourth would probably be a false brother who would sell us."

"What you say? Sell us?"

"Yes, and then see the misery. We should be captured, without being able to raise a finger, or to break one chain, and our best blood would be sacrificed."

"What we got to care 'bout risking our life? what our life to us?" exclaimed the Antacime.

"I know, brothers, that death for us is better than life; but why a useless death? a death with shame and pain? Let us sound our friends."

"They are agreed."

"We must be sure of all."

"We are all one. No fear of dat."

"Then let us revolt."

"Yes! we will, and de sooner de better."

"We shall be shot down like wild beasts."

"Never mind. We can't die on'y once."

"Very well, brothers, let us try then, and let us suppose ourselves free. You must not think the affair is over. This island is too small. France will send out against us her ships of war: they will blow us up, burn our places down, kill us, make us slaves again, and our fate will be ten times worse than it is now. Listen to me, brothers. I have heard a paper talk. In France and in England, the great countries of the whites, there are good men and women who think of us, and pray to God for us, and who say that in spite of our black skin we are before God as white as themselves, and they are constantly asking their great King to remove our chains and give us our liberty."

"Our liberty! Give us our liberty?"

"Yes, brothers. Patience yet a little, then. The good day cannot be far distant. Here the whites will not free us; but that is of no consequence, because they have not the power of preventing it forever. The great chiefs are yonder, and we shall have our liberty. Then too we shall have our houses, our bit of land, our own vegetables, and fruits, and poultry; and when we work, which we must still do, it will be for ourselves. We shall not then be beaten, but shall be masters of our own bodies, and of our own wives and children, who will remain with us to fill our hearts with joy, and share any troubles we may have. Do not then, my dear brothers, let us commit any act of folly. Let us wait for the good thing that is coming from yonder, and which they call EMANCIPATION. Until it comes, and as we cannot live any longer on the plantation, let us run away. We will become maroons. We will go live in the mountain yonder. My grandfather has been there many and many a year, and they have never been able to catch him. He will be our chief, and will be glad to see us. We shall have abundance to eat and drink, and shall be free besides, to do as we please. What say you?"

"Dat's all very well," replied the Amboilama, after a momentary silence, "but dat aint de ting. I been maroon. I know what it is. I knows de mountain too, but it aint ours. What you says, broder Creole, is good and bad too. Dere bitter in it an' sweet. Dere liberty, dat's de sweet: but den comes de bitter. Den de 'tachments; dem little white debbils dey brings up to hunt de nigger down wid, and dat dey pays for ebery run-away nigger's head dey brings in. It aint no use going up de mountains, and de dogs dey hunts out ob ebery hole and corner. Den when you's cotched, if dey don't kill you doin' on it, you knows what you's got to 'spect: raw backs rubbed down wid pimento and salt and vinegar, and den grinding corn in de sun and rain and wind for all de long months you may live."

"No! 'twont fit no ways," remarked the Antacime. "Al'ays in fear, al'ays on de

look-out to be cotched at last to get punished dat aint de ting for me. Better stop wid massa and be miserable right off."

But the Amboilame suddenly made another suggestion, which the others listened to with that fixed attention so peculiar to the negro when interested. He proposed that they should seize a small vessel he had seen on the shore, and after storing it with provisions, should choose an opportunity of setting sail back to Madagascar.

"When we dere, broders, we get good every ting, and plenty. We go out hunting: we dance, and sing, and work, and sleep, jes when we like, long wid our families, and no one to say nothing to us. Dis what we do, den, broders; we get de ship and start."

"Yes! dat's de right plan," exclaimed the Sacalave. "I wanted a rising, 'cause I wanted revenge. My tongue spoke like my heart felt. But if t'aint possible t'aint no use trying. Dere on'y one thing I thinking of, broder, and dat is we aint no sailors, and de sea's like de massa: he don't know no pity. But sooner 'an stop here, I'll follow you. We can on'y go to de bottom."

"I'll go too," ejaculated the Antacime in a transport of joy.

"And I'll pray to God," said the Caffre, dolefully, "to prosper your voyage. But I cannot go with you. Your country is not mine."

"But ain't you our broder? Ain't you unhappy same as we? Our country will be your's, and you be a sight better off 'an here, where you al'ays be a slave."

"Perhaps, but though I thank you, brothers, I cannot go. The journey is not safe, and I must go and see my grandfather. I will pray for you, and trust in God to deliver me and our brethren."

The three Malagassays could not change the Creole's resolution, though they each besought him to accompany them. Finding him immovable on this point, they took their leave of him affectionately, and the four separated, departing, as they had come, by different roads.*

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

THE following items of American Anti-Slavery intelligence are taken from our files for the months of October and November last:

RECENT STATE ELECTIONS.—The passage of the Nebraska Bill has given rise to great political results. The people are shewing at the ballot-box

* This little tale of slave-life in Bourbon will be completed in twelve numbers. It is translated from the French, the author being Mons. L. T. Houat, of the island of Bourbon. It is said to be a true tale. (Ed. A. S. R.)

their estimate of the nefarious measure. The *Anti-Slavery Standard* of the 21st of October records the following particulars of recent state elections. PENNSYLVANIA has altered her verdict upon the Nebraska fraud and its authors, in language easy to be understood. Pollock, the Whig and Fusion candidate for Governor, is elected by 30,000 majority, or thereabout. The Congressional delegation will stand: Fifteen Anti-Nebraska Whigs, five Anti-Nebraska Democrats, one Anti-Nebraska native—in all, twenty-one. Nebraska Democrats, four. The Legislature is Anti-Nebraska, which ensures the election of a United-States Senator of the same faith. OHIO has completely annihilated the Douglas Democracy. The popular majority is supposed to be 70,000, while of the twenty-one Members of Congress, the Douglasites will have not one! The traitor Olds is badly beaten, and Giddings is re-elected by an immense majority. INDIANA, long under bonds to the slave power, has elected ten Anti-Nebraska Members of Congress, and only one of the other sort. There is an Anti-Nebraska majority in the Legislature, and the Anti-Nebraska State ticket is elected by seven to ten thousand majority.

ANTI-NEBRASKA CONVENTION.—This Convention met at Auburn on the 26th of September last. About 200 delegates were present. The resolutions adopted will well express the character of the meeting:

"Resolved: That we are in favour of organizing a Republican party in this State to co-operate with our Republican brethren of other States, which shall be independent of existing political organization; a party which shall represent the friends of Freedom in opposition to Slavery extension, and in favour of employing all constitutional means in crippling and overthrowing Slavery where it now exists."

"Resolved: That we deem the Fugitive Slave Law an act of usurpation, an exercise of power not granted in the Constitution; averse to the declared sentiments of the great founders of the Republic, South and North, as set forth in the Declaration of American Independence—the platform on which the general Government was erected."

"Resolved: That the Federal Government has no rightful power to interfere between the fugitive slave and his master; that the clause in the Constitution where such power is sought, refers not to the General Government, but the State's only; not a grant of power to Congress, but merely a recognition of a compact previously entered into between the States when under the Confederation, before the Constitution was formed; and that, when the general Government assumed to pursue and consign to perpetual bondage a guiltless man, it mistook its meaning."

"Resolved: That we recommend that a Convention of Delegates from the free States, equal in number to their representatives in Congress respectively, be held at the city of Syracuse on the 4th of July 1854, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States for the next Presidential election."

The Convention nominated candidates for the Governorship and Lieutenant-Governorship.

PROGRESS IN KENTUCKY.--The Rev. John G. Fee, one of the most zealous and active Missionaries of the *American (Anti-Slavery) Missionary Association*, writes thus to the *National Era*, under date September 25th. "Here we have organized a free Church with encouraging prospects. Around it are some five more, and on the border two more. A few weeks since I listened to a very forcible and excellent speech, delivered by C. M. Clay. Clay is doing a good work in Kentucky. A short time since I had a discussion of some four days on the Slavery question in Campbell County, Kentucky. The audience was truly encouraging in size, good attention, and uninterrupted good order."

The discussion had a happy effect in arousing the people. If we once get free speech and open discussion throughout the State, the work of emancipation will soon be complete. The people are manifesting daily a determination to hear and read for themselves. There are three free ministers now here in the field, and three colporteurs, whose daily business is to visit from house to house, distribute anti-slavery documents, give Bibles to slaves that can read, and talk with slaveholders and non-slaveholders upon the evils of Slavery, the duty of freedom, and upon the precepts and practice of religion. We look for a still better day."

RE-OPENING OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.—The Grand Jury of Richland district, S.C., among its presentments, has recommended the re-opening of the African slave-trade. They set forth its supposed advantages, and even necessity, to the South, and justify its humanity and morality.

The *New-York Tribune*, in its remarks on the above, says, "We are often asked by correspondents and friends, Can it be true that the South meditates the re-opening of the African slave-trade? We answer, The South does not; but there are leading, active, influential men in the South who do; and these may very probably dragoon that section into a support of their policy. The South did not demand the annexation of Texas, nor the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law, nor the repudiation of the Missouri Compact; but the daring few called successively for all these encroachments, and the timid many acquiesced or swelled the cry so as not to be mocked and hunted down as Abolitionists. So it will be again."

THE NEW CUBAN EXPEDITION.—The *New-York Tribune* of the 13th of October last gives the following, on the authority of a special despatch from its own correspondent. "Confidential agents of the Cuban expedition now fitting out under the command of General Quitman have recently been in Washington to ascertain how far the administration are favourable to the scheme, and tolerate its execution. Repeated private interviews were had with the President and Secretaries, the result of which were not encouraging to the projectors. The President was, as usual, vacillating and undecided; but Secretary Marcy declared himself inflexibly hostile to the whole undertaking, and the majority of the Cabinet are with him. Only Caleb Cushing,

among all the Members of the Cabinet, was found to give it a hearty and enthusiastic approval. Consequently the expeditionists find themselves hindered by the antagonism of the Government, and their ardour is considerably damped. They have also received bad news from Cuba, where, since the appointment of General Concha, several wealthy Creoles have withdrawn from the support of the expedition. It was intended that it should start from the 1st to the 10th of November, from Galveston, New Orleans, and other convenient points on the Gulf of Mexico: six or eight steamers were to be employed for the transportation of the men and material to the place of rendezvous. A large sum of money has been subscribed and paid for the purposes of the expedition. George Law is one of the heaviest stockholders, but other New-York merchants, the publication of whose names as fillibusters would excite astonishment, are also concerned."

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—The Seventeenth Annual Meeting of this Society was held on the 23d of October last. The proceedings were of great length, and the resolutions embodied the prominent points embraced in the Anti-Slavery struggle. W. L. Garrison, J. Miller M'Kim, W. Wells Brown, with other Anti-Slavery advocates, male and female, took part in the business of the Meeting. Our space will not permit us to give more than an extract from the lengthened report of Mr. M'Kim. Speaking of the Fugitive Slave Law, it says: "It was of no more use to the South than the old law of 1793, which it superseded. Fugitive slaves were passing daily through the State without hindrance. There had been more escapes through Pennsylvania during the last than any preceding year. As to the Nebraska Bill, Pennsylvania, always comprising in her Congressional delegation a large number ready to do the meanest work of the slaveholders, furnished even more than her accustomed quota. Eleven of her Members of the House, besides one of her Senators, had disgraced their State and dishonoured humanity by voting for the nefarious Bill. But these creatures had misrepresented their State, as the returns of the election had just proved. Of the twenty-five Members of Congress, twenty-one were Anti-Nebraska men. This shewed where Pennsylvania stood on the Nebraska and Slavery question. *Politically*, the Commonwealth had made good progress. *Religiously*, the signs were not at all encouraging. The Church was, on this question, 'twice dead and plucked up by the roots,' and the clergy were 'dumb dogs, who cannot bark.' Of course there were exceptions to this. Among the ministers were some of the truest of the true, and there were a few denominations—but they were comparatively obscure and uninfluential—whose fidelity was not to be questioned; such as the *Covenanters*, the *Free Presbyterians*, and a new body lately sprung up in Pennsylvania, styling themselves *Progressive Friends*. *Commercially*, the advancement of the cause was more marked. Pennsylvania, through her commercial metropolis, was bound to the South by the ties of trade, in addition to the political ligaments which hold her in common with the other free States to the body

of Slavery. These ties had of late been somewhat loosened. Philadelphia was now comparatively independent of the South. The new lines of railway had now opened up to her the trade of the West. This was vastly more profitable than that of the slaveholding States. In the trade of the West her merchants can find customers without apologizing for Slavery, and exchanges for their products without humbling themselves to the meanest despots. *Socially*, the signs were propitious. Abolitionists were not tabooed in society. In the improvement of the free coloured people also, and in the diminished bitterness of the prejudice against colour, were also seen evidences of the progress of the cause. A great melioration was visible in the state of the coloured people. Their schools were multiplying, the standard of scholarship had risen, and education was rapidly on the advance."

DESTINY OF THE COLOURED PEOPLE.

WE clip from the *National Era* of the 28th September ult. the following remarks on the apparent destiny of the descendants of the African race. The idea, though not a new one, appears to us to be developed with singular felicity, and we very much regret our inability, owing to limited space, to introduce the whole of the article. The *National Era* is rendering good service to the cause of humanity by the publication of such articles as these, and deserves the influence it appears (from its increasing circulation) to be acquiring.

"The tendency of the free-coloured people of this continent towards the tropics seems to be one of the clearest manifestations of 'destiny.' A glance at the abstract of the seven censuses of the slave population will satisfy any one of this truth. Every decennial period exhibits a marked recession of the slaves from the northern latitudes, and shews the centre of slave population to be constantly removing southward. That the free coloured people are not found to be going in the same direction is owing to the fact that they are repelled by laws as unjust and cruel in their nature, as they are rigorous in their application. Universal emancipation, by removing these unnatural restraints, would at once exhibit the natural affinity of the coloured people for southern latitudes; and the demand for labour in that section would be supplied by their voluntary emigration. They would thus become, as a people, separated from the whites; they would constitute the labouring class, as they do at present, but with the difference of being free and contented, and with the privilege of rising to wealth and distinction.

"These things are coming. There is no help for it. Freedom would concentrate the coloured race in the tropical regions of the South, by the laws of political economy which govern the demand and supply of labour. But Slavery is doing the same thing, and can only prolong and retard the process.

"The black population of the South is now three and a half millions; that of the West Indies is some two and a half millions; Brazil con-

tains some three other millions; making at least nine millions altogether. They are all either within the tropical regions, or tending thitherward; they readily harmonize and amalgamate with the other races, Indian or Spaniard, or both; and it were folly to doubt that they will one day form a great, powerful, homogeneous people, or that, aided by the liberty-loving public opinion of Europe, and the more Northern States of America, they will be able to throw off the yoke of Slavery."

CIVILIZATION RECEDING IN THE SOUTH.

To those who are of opinion that the Southern States of the American Union will, of their own accord, if left alone, abolish Slavery, we earnestly recommend the following extracts from three Southern papers. It is scarcely credible that there should be found men to maintain, in the full light of the civilization of the second half of the nineteenth century, that *there is no moral wrong in Slavery*. A fearful responsibility rests upon those so-called Christian ministers who not only allow this heinous doctrine to be boldly advocated, without rebuke, but range themselves on the same side, and wrest the Scriptures to support it.

Let British Abolitionists read these extracts, and then say whether it is not time they should be up and doing. There is not a religious denomination in the United Kingdom that should not come forward with a remonstrance addressed to its corresponding denomination in the United States, and urge it to put away this sin and purify itself of this iniquity.

SLAVERY ETERNAL.

"It is all a hallucination to suppose that we are ever going to get rid of African Slavery, or that it will ever be desirable to do so. It is a thing that we cannot do without, that is righteous, profitable, and permanent, and that belongs to Southern society, as inherently, intrinsically, and durably, as the white race itself. Yea, the white race will itself emigrate from the Southern States to Africa, California, or Polynesia, sooner than the African. Let us make up our minds, therefore, to put up with and make the most of the institution. Let us not bother our brains about what Providence intends to do with our negroes in the distant future; but glory in and profit to the utmost by what He *has done* for him in transplanting him here, and setting him to work on our plantations. Let the politicians and planters of the South, while encouraging the 'Baptists and Methodists' (and other denominations having a less number of votes) in christianizing the negro, keep their slaves at hard work, under strict discipline, out of idleness and mischief, while they live; and when they come to die, instead of sending them off to Africa, or manumitting them to a life of 'freedom,' licentiousness, and nuisance, *will* them over to their children, or direct them to be sold where they will be made to work hard, and be of service to

their masters and the country. True philanthropy to the negro begins, like charity, at home; and if Southern men would act as if the canopy of heaven were inscribed with a covenant, in letters of fire, *that the negro is here, and here for ever, is our property, and ours for ever, is never to be emancipated, is to be kept hard at work, and in rigid subjection all his days, and is never to go to Africa, to Polynesia, or to Yankee land, (far worse than either,) they would accomplish more good for the race in five years than they boast the institution itself to have accomplished in two centuries, and cut up by the roots a set of evils and fallacies that threaten to drive the white race a wandering in the western wilderness sooner than Cuffee will go to preach the gospel in Guinea.*—*Richmond Examiner.*

NO MORAL WRONG IN SLAVERY.

"That there is no moral wrong in Slavery is the assumption which lies at the very basis of that institution. It is the principle we establish when we shew that both races are better under the influence of this institution than they are without; and, in fact, the intelligent mind of the South is fast approaching the conclusion that Slavery—the union of unequal races in the constitution of an unequal system—is the normal condition of human society. *It is fast becoming the belief, that to advance, society must be composed of two classes—the one to direct, and the other to labour; and that to the permanence of society in positions of advancement, there must be a division in its numbers; and not that division simply which springs from the necessities of the case, where one part is held above its natural position by the accident of wealth, while the other is depressed below its natural level by the accident of its absence, but a division which is natural, and necessarily results from the inequality between the races which are brought together. In this belief we heartily concur. The benefits and advantages which so far have resulted from the institution, we take as lights to guide us to the brighter truths of its future history. No nation on earth has been so favoured as has been the people of these Southern States; none has so increased in wealth and numbers; none has been so free from domestic broils and civil commotion. In none has the labouring class been so happy and so free from physical suffering; and in none, between the higher and lower classes of society, has there been so much of kind feeling, and so much of mutual solicitude and independence. To bask in the brightening beams of such an institution, to defend it, to praise it, and pray for its continuance, and yet contribute ships and soldiers to prevent its extension and its spread to others than ourselves, is scarcely defensible upon any reasonable principle of human action.*"—*Texan Mercury.*

THE STRENGTH OF SLAVERY.

"Nothing is more striking in the history of the Abolition crusade of now twenty years' duration, than the revolution in the Southern public mind which it has produced. It is not too much to say, that a quarter of a century ago the South was looking to and waiting for the period which should, by some agency yet to be developed by Providence, open the way for the extinction of

Slavery. At that time, men had not looked into the philosophy, or examined the muniments of defence of African Slavery in the United States. They seemed to have taken it for granted, without inquiry, that it was an evil, of which some day they hoped to be rid, and in which they were willing to acquiesce when the time was ripe for the event. Maryland and Virginia were rapidly travelling in the footsteps of the States east of them, and were paving the way to become free States. But fanaticism at the North took up the subject. Its conscience became sorely grieved because of an 'iniquity' for which it had no manner of possible responsibility before God or man. It mounted its hobby, booted and spurred for the crusade. And what has been the result? Slavery is stronger to-day than it was twenty-five years ago. Stronger in reason and argument—stronger in the united convictions of the South, that it is not an evil, but a good, to the African first, and next to the South, the Union, and the world—stronger in the defences which agricultural development, and the great staple of cotton, the basis of commerce, have raised around it in the commercial necessities of mankind—stronger in the will and power of those who are responsible for it, to defend it—and stronger in the unanswerable logic in which Southern intellect has entrenched it."—*Mobile Register.*

TRIAL FOR SLAVE-TRADING.

It has long been a well-known fact that vessels are fitted out at New York and other American ports, to be employed in the slave-trade. This is done in defiance of the law, which declares slave-trading to be piracy. Our files from the United States contain the report of a trial which had recently terminated, on a case of this kind, the defendant being one Captain Smith, of the brig *Julia Moulton* of New York.

The subjoined is taken in substance from the *New York Tribune*. The evidence given on the trial clearly established the fact that the slave-trade with Africa is a branch of the mercantile profits of the city of New York, and that the cruelties of the darkest crimes of the darkest ages are pharasaically enacted by parties claiming to be gentlemen. It is certain that the captain and crew of the ship were not the only pirates engaged in the transaction; but that shipbuilders and mercantile speculators are equally involved, though not brought to justice. The case of the *Julia Moulton* is but one out of many, with the single difference that this one has been found out.

It was proved that the ship was built in Maine; purchased in Boston by Captain Smith in January last; cleared in ballast for Newport on the 2d of February, and brought to New York, whence she was cleared on the 11th of February, with a crew of about fifteen persons. She was a regular *Slaver*, holding 664 human beings, stolen from Africa, packed like herrings—and how many

happily died and were thrown overboard we cannot learn, as the counsel for the defence objected to an answer to a question designed to shed light on that branch of the peculiar institution. It was given in evidence that the captain told the mate the real owner was a personage named Lemos, and that the secretary of the Portuguese Consul went with him to Boston to purchase the vessel.

An examination of ships' papers at the Custom-house, for years past, proves that the oath of the owner or master of a vessel that he is a citizen of the United States, which by law he is required to be, is omitted—apparently with the design of shielding the wretches who, as captains and owners, are engaged in the slave-trade, and who almost weekly send from New York vessels fitted out for the traffic. The law makes the punishment death provided the master or owner is an American citizen.

The parties who supply the water for the slavers know that the vessels built to sail with extraordinary rapidity, of from 200 to 400 tons, for which any legitimate trade should carry a crew of ten to sixteen men, are continually and openly supplied with from 15 to 40,000 gallons of water, and they know that this water is for a slave cargo. The men, too, who sell rice, and they who sell shackles, know likewise for what these are intended. And yet, in face of these facts, and of the belief of intelligent merchants that, on an average, a slave-ship, almost openly fitted out as such, leaves the port of New York about every two weeks throughout the year, the authorities take no cognizance of the matter. And here we have now the first conviction under this law, which has been in force for many years. And why was this case ever discovered? Because of a squabble between this convicted wretch and his master for the spoils, and both parties, doubtless, being in New York ready to engage in another slave expedition!

There are now in New York, wallowing in wealth, living in sumptuous palaces, and driving splendid equipages, men, called merchants—"merchant princes"—who have for years, uninterruptedly, been engaged in the abominable Slave-trade, and who, if they had their deserts, would be sharing the same fate that awaits Captain Smith.

The following extract from the District-Attorney's speech will spare us the necessity of giving the details of the evidence adduced:—

"Mr. Mc Keon, District-Attorney, addressed the jury. He contended that the transaction was a most flagrant violation of the laws. He little thought, he said, when he assumed the office he now held, that he should so soon discover that *New York is the very dépot of this nefarious traffic.* The testimony in the case showed that the *Julia*

Moulton was fitted out at this port expressly for the slave trade, and that James Smith, the prisoner, was the master. The provisions taken on board, and other circumstances, were proof. They finally took on board, on the coast of Africa, what they designated cargo. There were 664 human beings crowded on board a small vessel, seated, in day time, on the deck, one within the extended legs of the other, as close as possible, and laid at night on their right sides, stowed also as closely as possible—the object of placing them on the right side being that the action of the heart would be more free. She made the coast of Cuba at a point directed by the instructions; and it is singular that a man-of-war has not been directed to cruise at such a point to prevent such landings. * * *

* * * As to the oaths at the Custom House, it has been said that they are lightly administered. It might have been said that they are lightly taken. Here is this man, who has solemnly sworn that he is a citizen of the United States, and has signed to that effect, and he must be holden to it. The indictment says that the vessel was owned by said Smith, a citizen of the United States, or by some other citizen to the jurors unknown. It has been shown by a witness that the secretary of the Portuguese Consul was said to have been interested in the vessel. Mr. Figniere, the Consul, in order to do away with that, is called by counsel for defence, and he swears that he had no secretary. Who is this man? He declined to answer questions put to him in relation to this vessel, and it is to be regretted, from the appearance, that there are slave traffickers among us, bearing the seal of foreign power. The District-Attorney alluded to a figure put forth by Mr. O'Connor in his argument, that the District-Attorney was groping about in the dark for a dagger with which to make his threats. *There are real daggers,* the District-Attorney said, *in the hands of the persons engaged in this traffic in this city, and any man's life is in danger who attempts to expose them.* But for myself, even if I should lose my life, I will fearlessly do my duty."

The jury found Captain Smith guilty. The punishment attached to conviction for Slave-trading is death. The counsel for Captain Smith has entered an appeal, on some point of law raised by him, the result of which appeal we have yet to learn.

We append, from the journal above quoted, the following pertinent remarks on this most distressing subject:—

"The enlightened and benign minds of this country must marvel at the law which draws the distinction between the foreign and domestic slave-trade, making the one punishable with death, and the other the highest pursuit of the 'impersonation of the high-born aristocrat.' This captain of the *Julia Moulton* will, let us suppose, be hanged, if convicted, for simply doing what is openly advocated by some Southern politicians as a right of the South—the right of getting negroes direct from Africa at 100 dollars a piece instead of paying the dealers in the infernal trade 1000 dollars. Well may they remonstrate against the monopoly of the slave-breeding States, and the oppression, if Slavery be allowed

to exist, of restricting the blessing to the propagation of the negro race in this country—too slow for Caucasian avarice and cruelty, and affording an article too dear for the possession of the vast majority of the Southern people, not one in twenty of whom can now be slave-owners, through sheer poverty.

"The tendencies of the American people must either be one way or the other—to restrict Slavery so that it die out, or to throw wide open our ports to it direct with Africa; the more especially as the 'horrors of the middle passage' are, according to the author of '*Thirty Years of the Slave Trade*,' a fiction, and the transfer of the teeming myriads not connected with any increased cruelty over their normal condition. It may occur to some that the citizens of the South should not feel complimented by the parade of such facts; that they treat their slaves, in fact, better than the cannibals of the interior of Africa: but as they pride themselves upon this through their chief political organs, we feel at liberty to mention the circumstance as a sad evidence of how blunted the perceptions of a whole people may become on the simplest details of the moral law. It used to be considered a matter of course that the greater freedom of this country rendered comparisons on the relative effects of our political system even with those of European Governments quite necessary, and not complimentary, the gain being so vastly in our favour; but the desperate mode of defence resorted to by the pro-Slavery party induces them to vaunt human bondage in this country because the masters do not literally sacrifice the slaves to infernal gods, and eat their carcasses at grand festivals. We willingly award to the South the entire benefit of such superiority, without altering our opinion of Slavery as the sum of all iniquities, and without seeing the abstract justice of hanging Captain Smith for dealing in African niggers, while the Judges and Governors, who only sell their own mulatto children or brothers, are looked up to as models of every social virtue."

ANTI-SLAVERY DEMOCRACY.

THE Convention of *Liberal Societies* in New York has published an Address to the leading members of the Committee, in aid of the political refugees in England. It is quite in accordance with the sentiments expressed by M. Victor Schœlcher at the recent Anti-slavery Conference, namely: that the body of true Democrats, of whatever shade, are quite as strongly and as determinedly the opponents of Slavery as they are of political despotism. The Address is too long for insertion in our columns, in its original form; we have therefore introduced only that passage from it which has a direct bearing on our subject. The document is signed by H. Forbes, Corresponding Secretary of the Convention.

"Another obstacle which the Liberals have to encounter in the United States is the influence of *Slavery*—to which idol the office-seekers of both the old Democratic and Whig parties bend the knee, as do likewise the great body of the clergy,

from motives of conservatism—the merchants from the hope of southern custom—and a large number of the Democracy from the widely-circulated delusion that the strength of the country is thereby augmented. No sane Liberal can hope to receive any sympathy from, nor can make any compact with, Slavery. The very nature of Slavery must be antagonistic to liberty, as darkness is to light; it must hate, fear, calumniate, deceive, and persecute every aspiration to freedom and independence. The influence of Slavery pervades every portion of this country, even those parts whence it is nominally excluded. Were it not for Slavery, this country would be the most progressive and the most powerful the world has ever seen. Alone it could dictate to all the kingdoms of the world leagued together. The free States by themselves, if unhampered by the slave States, could, by pronouncing '*Freedom to all*,' dispel the gloom which overshadows Europe, and give freedom to the oppressed peoples. But so long as Freedom attempts to effect an unnatural alliance with Slavery, sympathy for the persecuted liberal refugees cannot be expected, though, were there some revolutionary movement actually commenced, and were it sufficiently strong to give hopes of its ultimate success, then it is possible that the more enlightened and generous portion of the public might contribute material aid, totally unconnected with the United States Government, from which, so long as it is under the Slavery influence, no good can come.

"The struggle between Liberty and Slavery in this country is now commencing. The slumbering elements of discord have been brought into active opposition to each other through the measure known as the Nebraska Bill, for the extension of Slavery over those territories where it was prohibited by previous legislation; which Bill that small section of the *false democratic pro-slavery* party, miscalled Young America, headed by Senator Stephen A. Douglas, proposed in Congress, and the corrupt pro-slavery of the other sections accepted and enacted as a law, in defiance of the urgent and vehement remonstrances of the man of the people of the free States, whose indignation appears now to be excited by this act.

"If the FREE principle in America be truly roused by the Nebraska Bill, then perhaps we may from this quarter of the globe receive some sympathy; from the Slavery principle we can expect none; nor can we, as lovers of liberty, make with the opposite principle here an alliance, any more than we could, with the *pro-slavery Czar*."

IMPRISONMENT OF COLOURED SEAMEN.

ON Friday evening, the 8th. ult., a public meeting was held in the Assembly Rooms, Boston, Lincolnshire, to hear an Address from the Rev. S. R. Ward, on the subject of American Slavery, the condition of the Fugitive Slaves in Canada, and the duties of the British people in relation to the question of Slavery generally. The Chair was taken by Mr. Alderman Noble. The meeting is stated to have been very crowded, almost all the Nonconformist ministers of the town—

with the exception of the Wesleyans—being on the platform. In the course of his address Mr. Ward adverted to the law now in force in South Carolina, under which coloured men, British subjects and others, are seized on board of vessels entering the ports of that province, then incarcerated, and sold into Slavery, unless they pay their jail fees. At the close of his address, the Rev. Isaac Watts proposed, and the Rev. J. Pacey seconded, the adoption of the following petition to the Legislature:

To the Honorable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled. The humble Petition of the inhabitants of the Borough of Boston, in the County of Lincoln, in Public Meeting assembled in the assembly rooms of the said (Mr. Alderman Noble, J. P. in the Chair), Showeth, That your petitioners have learnt with surprise and indignation that free British subjects, being men of colour, serving in British ships, are, on visiting certain American ports, seized by the authorities of those ports, and imprisoned; and if certain costs and charges are not paid before the ship leaves the port, the said free British subjects are withheld from the Captain, and sold as slaves; a procedure inflicting, in the opinion of your Petitioners, at once a cruel personal wrong, and a gross national insult. Your Petitioners therefore humbly and earnestly pray your Honorable House to urge upon the Government the adoption of prompt and effectual measures for the abolition of the laws by which such cruelty and indignity are inflicted upon British subjects. And your petitioners will ever pray. Signed, on behalf of the Meeting.

J. NOBLE, Alderman J. P., *Chairman*.

The Rev. T. W. Mathews then proposed, and the Rev. J. Keymes seconded, the adoption of a resolution embracing the formation in Boston of a permanent Anti-slavery Committee; which was carried unanimously. Votes of thanks were carried by acclamation to the Mayor for the use of the rooms, and to the Chairman for presiding, which having been duly acknowledged, the meeting separated.

Miscellanea.

A CHANCE FOR THE BENEVOLENT.—We have received from D. W. Kilbourne, Esq., of Keokuk, Iowa, a lengthy communication in relation to the emancipation of nineteen slaves. It is to this effect: That in October last a maiden lady, named Frances Gordon, arrived at Keokuk from near Springfield, Ky, accompanied by nineteen slaves belonging to her, whom she wished to, and in a short time did, emancipate. Mr. K. gives a detailed account of the difficulties she experienced in removing from Kentucky. Among other devices employed to prevent her removal, and the freeing of the blacks; it is stated that her brother, a Baptist preacher, instituted proceedings against her in the Circuit Court, on the ground that she was imbecile—she being eighty years of age. Afterward, another suit was brought to prevent her taking her slaves out of the State, charging that she had only a life-lease of them. But she succeeded in the Courts, and finally contrived to escape from the State, taking refuge in Iowa.

In so doing, however, she consumed her fortune, at no time large, and is dependent upon her emancipated slaves for support. She is now anxious to purchase the freedom of a son of one of her late slaves, and also the husbands of two of them, who are still in bondage in Kentucky, for which purpose some 3000 dollars will be required. Mr. Kilbourne concludes his letter as follows:

"Here is a chance for some Society, or for wealthy and benevolent individuals, who are moving in like matters, to make up the amount for this object."

The old lady has done all that she can do; she has accomplished the great object of her life, and, if she could now see those connected with her family by the tenderest ties fully emancipated, her happiness would be complete. The object is certainly a worthy one, and deserves the attention of the philanthropic people of Iowa especially.—*American Baptist*.

THE SLAVE BLACKSMITH.—Calling at a blacksmith's shop for a small job of work, I found the smith was a slave. On inquiring to whom I should make payment, he told me I might to him. His practice was to receive all the money paid at the shop, and pay it over to his master at night. I asked him how his master knew whether he rendered a just account. He replied, his master knew him too well not to trust him. Whatever wrong his master did by him, it was no excuse for him to do wrong by his master. He could deceive his master, but he could not deceive God, to whom he must render his final account. He said he was a Baptist, and had regular family prayers. His master was a Presbyterian, to whom he gave credit for good usage and good training; but as he had faithfully served him fifty years, he did think he ought to have the remainder of his days to himself. He regretted that he could not read the Bible, and I was pained to hear him attempt to quote it, he made such blunders. Tears started in the eyes of the poor man as he spoke of his hard condition, and looked forward to death only for release from his bondage. He thanked God that he had no children to inherit his ignorance and servitude. I pitied the poor man from the bottom of my heart, while I was delighted with his earnest principle and honest simplicity.—*American Baptist*.

AN OPINION LIKE ANOTHER.—The *Boston Commonwealth* quotes as follows from a speech delivered by ex-Governor Smith of Virginia, on the subject of the Nebraska outrage:

"I believe, in my soul, Slavery is neither a moral, social, nor political evil. I believe that the white race is elevated by the institution, and that it is necessary to the negro to make use of him. I believe that it is God's institution. Has there ever been a prosperous nation without slavery? If we get young men from the North before they are spoiled, we make men of them. This institution acts like a charm on the negroes; many of them are worthy of confidence and respect. We have black family servants who put to blush white servants. They are valueless the moment you knock the shackles off."

And the *Commonwealth* proceeds to say, that "the man who believes all that 'in his soul,' must have a soul that"—but the *Commonwealth* is apt at strong expressions.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, JANUARY 1st, 1855.

LONDON ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

HELD AT THE LONDON TAVERN ON THE 29TH AND 30TH ULT.

A FULL record of the proceedings of the Conference being in preparation, in pamphlet form, under the direction of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, it will only be necessary for us to give a general outline for reference.

The Conference was constituted upon the following principles, as specified in the Circular issued by the Committee, namely: "That for man to hold his fellow-man as property is a sin and a crime before God," and therefore is not to be defended or extenuated; and that the system of Slavery, being unchristian in character, is to be uncompromisingly opposed, under what form soever it exists, and its immediate extinction sought by the employment of every moral and pacific means.

The following Gentlemen were appointed as Delegates: *Manchester*, Revs. Dr. Beard, G. W. Conder, W. Parkes, S. A. Steinthal, and Francis Bishop; George Thompson, Thomas Thomason, F. W. Chesson, and Wilson Armistead, Esqs.; *Southampton*, Revs. John Woodwark, and Edward Palk, and Joseph Clark, Esqs.; *Worcester*, Wilson Burgess, Esq.; *Colchester*, Thomas Catchpool, James Hurard, Joseph Savill, James L. Stephens, Stephen Unwin, Jun., Edward Marriage, Esqs.; *Exeter*, Robert Dymond, J. C. Sercombe, Thomas Letchworthy, Esqs.; *Leeds*, John Wilson, Joseph Lupton, Esqs.; *Banbury*, James Cadbury, Esq.; *Newcastle*, Rev. G. W. M'Cree; *Lisheard*, Nathaniel Tregelles, Esq.; *Edinburgh*, Duncan M'Laren, Esq. (late Lord Provost of Edinburgh); Rev. James Ballantyne; *Glasgow*, Rev. G. Jeffery, Professor Nichol, Thomas Grahame, Esq.; *Dublin*, Henry Russell, Esq.

The Conference, under the presidency of Samuel Gurney, Esq., was numerously attended.

After a few preliminary remarks from the President, on the importance of the subject about to engage the attention of the Conference, Mr. CHAMEROVZOW, Secretary of the Society, read several extracts from Letters which had been received from leading friends who were unable to attend the Conference.

The Rev. J. H. HINTON then read a paper on "the present position of the Anti-slavery question in Great Britain, as a public question, and the duty of British Abolitionists;" after which, the first Resolution was moved by JOSEPH T. PRICE, Esq., of Neath, seconded by the Rev. JOHN WOODWARK, and having

been supported by Major-General Thompson, was adopted unanimously:

"Whereas there are at this time in the United States of America, in the Brazils, and in the Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch Colonies,—countries where the Christian Religion is professed—upwards of 8,000,000 of human beings held as chattels; and whereas there is at this time an extensive traffic carried on in the persons of Native Africans and of their descendants; and whereas the holding of men as property, and trading in them, is contrary to the law of God, subversive of humanity, a hindrance to civilization, and an outrage upon the Christian Religion; this Conference is of the deliberate opinion, that it is the duty of every friend of humanity to protest against the doctrine that any statutes can make it lawful for man to hold man as property; and to strive, by the employment of all moral and pacific means, to put an end to the infamous Slave-trade, and to the iniquitous system of Slavery wherever it exists: and this Conference therefore encourages the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* to prosecute its labours with undiminished energy."

The Rev. P. H. CORNFORD, late of Jamaica, addressed the Conference at some length on "the results of Emancipation in the British West-India Colonies, and the importance of promoting the prosperity of our emancipated colonies, as an example to slaveholding communities," and concluded by moving the second Resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. THOMAS HENDERSON, of Demerara, and accompanied by some interesting facts. The Resolution was also spoken to by SAMUEL GURNEY, JOSEPH STURGE, STEPHEN BOURNE, and B. WILLS, Esqs.; the Revs. W. JAMES, of Bristol, and Mr. ANDREWS, of Jamaica.

"RESOLVED, That in the opinion of this Conference there is abundant evidence to shew, that so far as regards the emancipated classes, the results of Emancipation in the British West-India Colonies have been on the whole truly gratifying and satisfactory, and of a nature to justify every reasonable expectation: that many of the social evils which still exist amongst them are to be ascribed to the pernicious influences of Slavery under which they originated: that the difficulties and commercial embarrassments alleged to have been caused by the measure of Abolition have their chief origin in causes altogether irrespective of that measure, many of them having been productive of similar distresses, for a period of more than half a century previous to the abolition of Slavery. And this Conference is further of opinion, that there is, in the increasing productiveness of some of the Sugar Colonies, and in the present condition of their labouring population, much to encourage and to stimulate the friends of freedom throughout the world to use increased exertions to influence those Governments which still tolerate Slavery, to abolish that demoralizing institution without delay."

After the adoption of this Resolution the Conference adjourned until the afternoon.

On the re-assembling of the Conference,

JOSEPH T. PRICE, Esq., of Neath, was called to the Chair.

Mr. VICTOR SCHÖLCHER read a valuable paper on "the results of Emancipation in the French West-India possessions," and moved the third Resolution, which was seconded by GEORGE W. ALEXANDER, Esq.

"RESOLVED, That in the opinion of this Conference the results of Emancipation in the French West-India Colonies are likewise highly encouraging, considering the brief period this measure has been in operation; and this Conference would point to the manner in which it was accomplished, and in which it was received by the Negro population, as an additional illustration of the perfect safety of immediate Abolition; at the same time it must deplore the temporary excitement which occurred in these islands, soon after the publication of the decree of Emancipation, although it is only just to record that it has been clearly shewn, the origin of these dissensions may be traced to the oppressive regulations of the local authorities, and to the want of their cordial co-operation in carrying out the provisions of that measure."

After a brief statement from the Secretary "on the progress of the cause in Holland and other countries," the fourth Resolution was moved by JOSEPH COOPER, Esq., seconded by JOSIAH FORSTER, Esq., and adopted:

"RESOLVED, That this Conference learns with satisfaction that the Government of Holland is adopting measures to abolish Slavery in its colonies, and has decreed that the Slaves to the number of about 3600 in its East-India possessions shall be free from and after the 1st of January 1860: and this Conference, seeing that Emancipation was accomplished in the most peaceful manner in the British West-India Colonies, and subsequently in those of France, and that measures framed with a view simply to ameliorate the condition of the Slaves have been found practically inoperative, would earnestly exhort the friends of freedom in Holland to direct their efforts unweariedly to induce their Government to legislate upon the principle of immediate Emancipation, in the Bill now under consideration for the better government of its colonial possessions."

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Chair was taken by JOHN CROPPER, Esq.

JOHN CANDLER, Esq., made an interesting statement in relation to "the Brazils," and moved the fifth Resolution, which was seconded by WILSON BURGESS, Esq.; and having been supported by the Secretary, was adopted:

"RESOLVED, Whereas it would appear from authentic sources of information, official and otherwise, that in consequence of an improved public sentiment, and of the stringent measures adopted by the Legislature of Brazil, for the suppression of the Slave-trade, this traffic has ceased since 1852, this Conference would record this fact with much satisfaction, and would warmly encourage the friends of Abolition in Brazil to persevere—amidst the difficulties with which they

are surrounded—in their efforts to prevent the revival of the trade in human beings, and to promote the introduction of legislative enactments for the abolition of Slavery throughout that important empire, as the only means by which the Abolition of the Slave-trade can be secured."

After a statement from the Secretary on "Cuba, the Slave-trade and Slavery there; and the position of Cuba in relation to the Spanish Government and the United States," which gave rise to considerable discussion, and an addition to the proposed Resolution, it was moved by JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., seconded by ISAAC BASS, Esq., and adopted:

"This Conference deeply laments, that notwithstanding the most solemn treaties entered into by Spain with this country in 1817, and at various periods since, and her actual acceptance of £400,000 from the people of England as a compensation to her for the abolition of the Slave-trade, the traffic has been continued under every successive Government since those treaties were concluded, and to such an enormous extent, that a very large proportion of the slaves now in Cuba have been introduced in violation of these compacts: this Conference therefore recommends the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* to convey to the Spanish Government now in process of formation its abhorrence of the moral and political dishonour which such a course has entailed, and again to urge the imperative obligation of liberating all negroes who have been thus imported, and their descendants; and at the same time to represent, in the strongest terms, the Christian duty, as well as the wise policy, of immediately abolishing Slavery throughout the colonies of Spain."

"The Conference would also recommend the Committee to embrace the earliest suitable opening for having the attention of our own Legislature again directed to this flagrant dereliction of duty, and shameless violation of treaties on the part of that country."

The Rev. JAMES SHERMAN, in an interesting address, introduced the subject of "American Slavery: the relation thereto of American religious bodies: the laws relating to the imprisonment of Coloured Seamen, and the enslavement of British subjects: and the present position of the Abolition cause in the United States," and moved the seventh Resolution, which was seconded by DUNCAN M'LAUREN, Esq., and supported by PARKER PILLSBURY, Esq. It was also spoken to by the Revs. JAMES VINCENT, S. R. WARD, CUTHBERT G. YOUNG, GEORGE SMITH, and EDWARD MATHEWS, and adopted:

"RESOLVED, That whilst this Conference cherishes the most friendly disposition towards the people of the United States, it cannot contemplate without the deepest sorrow the revolting spectacle presented by the existence in their midst of the institution of Slavery, which by various compromises under the Constitution—and especially the recent retrograde and criminal legislative enactments, such as the Fugitive Slave Law and the Nebraska Bill—they have recognised as national and otherwise sanctioned and supported until it has attained to colossal dimensions, and

embraced in its oppressive grasp nearly three millions and a half of their fellow-citizens. Nor can this Conference refrain from expressing its reprobation of the conduct of those professing Ministers of the Gospel, who by the perversion of Scripture, vindicate and vitally strengthen this iniquitous institution; or who, whilst admitting the enormity of the evil, and its unrighteousness, neither bear a testimony against it, nor labour for its abolition. In view, therefore, of the extensive implication of the great majority of the Churches of America in the system of Slavery, and of the flagrant reproach thus brought upon the Christian Religion, this Conference deems it to be its solemn duty to call upon the various religious denominations in the United Kingdom individually and unitedly to protest against this dishonour to God, and this outrage upon the inalienable rights of man, and to use all appropriate means to awaken the American Churches thus implicated to a sense of the guilt and responsibility which inseparably attach to the countenance and support of such a system. Whilst, however, this Conference deems it to be its duty to reprobate the inconsistent and criminal conduct of those professing Christians in the United States who practise slaveholding, or apologise for it, or who abstain from bearing a testimony against it, it would joyfully recognise and assure of its sympathy and respect such religious bodies and individual Churches as exclude slaveholders from their communion, and exert their influence in favour of the Anti-slavery cause, and would commend them to the fraternal regard of every true Christian. Lastly, this Conference would express its cordial sympathy with the Abolitionists of America generally, for the fidelity and integrity with which they have demanded the immediate and unconditional abolition of Slavery, and the uncompromising perseverance with which they have pursued their purpose, in spite of many perils, of the bitterest persecution and reproach, and in the face of a corrupt public sentiment: and would encourage them to persevere in pleading for the millions yet bowed beneath the yoke, assured that, under the Divine blessing, the righteousness of their cause will ultimately prevail."

ELIHU BURRITT, Esq., read an interesting paper on "the various instrumentalities to be employed to put down Slavery, embracing a disuse of the products of slave-labour, and the development of the resources of free-labour;" and concluded by moving the eighth and ninth Resolutions, which were coupled. GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., then addressed the Conference on the subject of "India and its resources as a Sugar and a Cotton-growing country," and seconded the Resolutions, which were afterwards spoken to by Mr. BANKS of Preston Pans, and others, and adopted:

"This Conference being of opinion that a highly important means of promoting the overthrow of Slavery is to be found in giving extension to the cultivation and consumption of the products of free-labour; and believing that the prosperity of our colonies would afford encouragement to the Foreign slaveholder to employ free-labour in preference to that of Slaves, would

earnestly recommend the proprietors of West-India estates to avail themselves of the improved modes of agriculture and manufacture which modern science places at their disposal, and which would enable them to avoid the enormous waste that has been shewn to be a material cause of the alleged unprofitableness of West-India properties.

"And whereas it is admitted that the people and the soil of British India are capable of producing Cotton and Sugar to an unlimited extent; and that Great Britain, although able to command the exhaustless resources of that vast empire, is almost wholly dependent for the supply of her Cotton-wool upon the United States of America, and to some extent for her Sugar upon Cuba and Brazil, in which countries these commodities are the products of slave-labour; and whereas it is a legitimate and an enlightened policy to encourage to the fullest extent the development of the resources of tropical countries where free labour is employed; this Conference deems it of the first importance that the Legislatures of Great Britain and India should remove all existing impediments to the development of the resources of that empire, and the causes which retard the prosperity of the native population."

During the discussion of these Resolutions a suggestion was made by STEPHEN BOURNE, Esq., which led to the adoption of the following recommendation, which was moved by GENERAL THOMPSON, seconded by R. N. FOWLER, Esq., and supported by CHARLES GILPIN, Esq.

"That it be an instruction from this Conference to the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* to take into early consideration the subject of the production of the various staples raised by free-labour in our West-India Islands, and other portions of the British possessions, as suggested by the speeches delivered in the course of the proceedings of this Conference, and report the result of their investigations."

The Rev. S. R. WARD, having addressed the Conference on the subject of the "Fugitive Slaves in Canada, and the importance of elevating the free coloured population," adding a few words in illustration of the laws relating to Coloured Seamen, moved, and JOHN ELLIS, Esq., seconded, the tenth Resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas it is still sometimes absurdly urged by the apologists of the system of Slavery, that the Negro is an inferior being, and incapable of self-government; that his natural stupidity prevents him from acquiring knowledge; and that his ignorance disqualifies him for exercising the duties of a freeman; that God has ordained the perpetual servitude of the African race, and that Slavery is a boon to it, instead of a bane; this Conference enters its protest against these atrocious sentiments and libellous statements. In refutation of these, it would point to the advances which have been made by the free coloured population of the British West Indies, by the refugee slaves, who have found in Canada a shelter from Southern oppression, and to the numerous instances on record of Negroes, and their descendants, who have left an

illustrious name, and nobly vindicated the equality and genius of their race. In view, therefore, of the absurd prejudice which exists against the coloured population of the so-called Free States of the American Union tending to impede their efforts for self-advancement, this Conference deems it of the first importance that every encouragement should be extended to the coloured population of Canada and of the British West Indies, that they may persevere in habits of industry, in the acquirement of education, and of a proficiency in the various mechanical arts; so that, possessing the means of gaining a livelihood by their own efforts, and having every honourable incentive to exertion, they should vindicate their common brotherhood with the white race, and for the sake of their brethren in bonds, practically rebut the calumnies of their oppressors."

The Secretary having made a further statement shewing the operation of the laws of the Southern States of America, in relation to the imprisonment of coloured seamen, EDWARD PALK, Esq., (after offering some remarks on the odious character of the slave enactments by which British subjects are reduced to a state of Slavery,) moved, and JOSEPH CLARK, Esq., seconded, and GENERAL THOMPSON, supported, the following Resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas by a local law of South Carolina all coloured men, free born or otherwise, British subjects, are liable to be seized on board and imprisoned on landing in any of the ports of that State, even though they may be driven into them by stress of weather; and that they are further liable to be sold into Slavery if they are unable to discharge the jail fees; and whereas many British subjects have been so imprisoned, and many actually sold; and whereas these outrages upon British liberty have been frequently brought under the notice of Her Majesty's Government without effect; this Conference recommends all persons to use their influence, either by addresses to Her Majesty or petitions to Parliament, to procure the immediate repeal or the modification of the law, as has been done in Alabama and Georgia."

The twelfth Resolution was moved by JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., seconded by S. HORMAN-FISHER, Esq., spoken to by R. N. FOWLER, Esq., and adopted:

"This Conference, deeply regretting the extent to which Slavery still exists in Turkey and in Egypt, would earnestly recommend the British Government to urge upon the Sultan of Turkey and on the Pacha of Egypt, the duty of abolishing Slavery, in whatever form it exists, throughout their dominions."

The subject of "the desirability or otherwise of holding a general Anti-Slavery Convention in 1855, as proposed at the Meeting in Edinburgh," was left, by the consent of the Conference, in the hands of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*.

The proceedings of the Conference then terminated.

THE AMERICAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS AND SLAVERY.

In our last Number we introduced an article on the subject of the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, showing its pro-slavery character, and that even the action it has recently taken in relation to its missions amongst the Choctaws and Cherokees, is very little in advance of the position it previously held; notwithstanding its endorsement of Mr. Secretary Treat's letter, of which so much has been made.

The subject, we may observe, was prominently brought forward at the recent Anti-Slavery Conference, and those persons who charged the *American Board* with being pro-slavery, were accused of unfairness, prejudice, and even with direct falsehood. Under these circumstances, the letter we subjoin, coming as it does from a well-known Abolitionist, and one who is not likely to be led away from plain matters of fact, becomes of great value as a testimony in support of the views that have been advanced, in these columns and elsewhere, of the pro-slavery character of the *American Board*. It was forwarded to us, to be sent to the editor of the *Nonconformist*, and for insertion in our own journal, or such others as might feel disposed to give it publicity.

"To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*."

"In your paper of October 25th was an article with the above heading, compiled, it would seem, from the *New-York Independent*, a weekly Congregational paper, which gives an inaccurate account of the proceedings of the Board of Missions—one from which most, if not all of the Christian Abolitionists of this country will, I think, dissent. It will be my purpose, in this letter, to point out the inaccuracies. You may ask, Cannot British Christians rely upon the statements made by a professed anti-slavery Christian newspaper? You shall see. The *Independent*, though called an anti-slavery, is not an Abolition paper. Your readers hardly know the difference, perhaps, as the anti-slavery people of England pride themselves on being called Abolitionists. But on comparing the facts stated in this letter with the article made up from the *Independent*, they will be able to see the difference as it exists here, and also to get a clue to the mystification thrown around the connection which too many of our ecclesiastical and benevolent Societies have with American Slavery."

In your paper is the following statement:

"In 1848, the Rev. Mr. Treat, one of the secretaries of the Board, after visiting those Missions (the Choctaw and Cherokee Indian Missions), published a letter, in which anti-slavery principles were laid down as the principles which should guide the Missionaries and Mission Churches on the subject. This letter the Board, though repeatedly and earnestly solicited, refused to endorse. Recently, the Choctaw nations (nation) have enacted most oppressive and barbarous laws, prohibiting, among other things, the education of slaves in the Mission schools."

The Abolitionists made these solicitations, and they were treated with contempt, or neglect, by professed anti-slavery, as well as pro-slavery* members of the Board. Some of the sentiments contained in Mr. Treat's letter were excellent, while others were objectionable, and very far from meeting the views of Christian Abolitionists. They were not enjoined upon the Missionaries, but were stated to be merely "suggestions and arguments." The Missionaries objected to those that recommended more thorough anti-slavery action, and, so far as I know, have never altered their course in consequence of the letter. The Choctaw nation then, as now, had "most oppressive and barbarous laws," of which the following is a sample:

"Be it enacted, &c., That from and after the passage of this Act, if any citizen of the United States, acting as a Missionary or a preacher, or whatever his occupation may be, is found to take an active part in favouring the principles and notions of the most fatal and destructive doctrines of abolitionism, he shall be compelled to leave the nation, and for ever stay out of it.

"Be it further enacted, &c., That teaching slaves how to read, to write, or to sing in meeting-houses or schools, or in any other place, without the consent of the owner, or allowing them to sit at table with him, shall be sufficient ground to convict persons of favouring the principles and notions of abolitionism."

These laws are still in force; and it is believed that while the second section has been, in whole or part, disregarded by the Missionaries, they have scrupulously obeyed the first section. Recently, new enactments have been adopted, no more barbarous than the former ones, but, it may be, with a more resolute determination to enforce them. This circumstance, and especially the excitement in the free States in opposition to the Nebraska Bill, aroused public feeling to such a degree, that the Board felt compelled to do something in opposition to Slavery. What has the Board done? According to the *Independent*,

"It fully endorses the principles of Mr. Treat's letter of 1843, which every Christian anti-slavery man must acknowledge to be satisfactory on the treatment of Slavery by the Missionaries of the Board."

The Board has, it is true, endorsed Mr. Treat's letter; but that letter is far from being satisfactory to the Christian Abolitionists of the country. It makes a distinction between Slavery and slaveholding; and while it is severe upon the *system*, it tolerates the *practice*. "A system of Slavery," it says, "is always and everywhere sinful; but we do not believe that every act of slaveholding is sinful." Mr. Treat says, a person may be an involuntary slaveholder, and he may not free his slaves out of regard to their highest good. The master, he avers, may stand acquitted, because of his benevolent motives. He says, that "overt acts" of cruelty disqualify slaveholders for church-fellowship; but if they be free from blame in the sight of God, they may hold a good standing in the church. In accordance with such views, one of the Missionaries of the Choctaws has lately said it would be right to buy any number of

slaves, meaning, probably, that if treated well, the relation, so far from being sinful, was benevolent. Mr. Treat himself, in a few days subsequent to the Annual Meeting of the Board, addressed the following letter to some one who had seen in two pro-slavery religious newspapers a statement that the Board actually intended to exclude persistent slaveholders from the Mission churches:

"Missionary House, Boston, Oct. 7, 1854.

"DEAR SIR—In your paper of this date you publish an extract from the *Watchman and Observer*, and then inquire, 'Is this a fair and truthful statement? Did Mr. Treat endeavour to persuade Missionaries to exclude slaveholders from the communion? Did he treat them with threats, that if they persisted in their course the Board would cut them off? Did he thus undertake to speak for the Board?' To each and all of these interrogatories I answer, 'No.' And I must be allowed to express my great surprise that any one should have supposed me capable of such conduct.

"Very sincerely yours,

"S. B. TREAT,

"Sec. of the A. B. C. F. M."

The Secretary expresses great surprise that any one should have supposed him capable of endeavouring to persuade Missionaries to exclude slaveholders from the communion of the church!

According to the *Independent*, quoted by you, it is further said:

"It (the Board) refuses to co-operate with a system of education based upon distinctions of colour and position, and denying to slaves and their children the knowledge of the word of God."

The Board has not made any such general declaration. It resolved, merely, that the boarding-schools in the Choctaw nation, which are sustained by funds received by the nation from the United States government—it having been a matter of contract between the Board and the Choctaw nation that the Missionaries should be teachers in these schools—should not be conducted in conformity with the recent legislation of the Choctaw council. And Mr. Treat, at the late Annual Meeting, took a more limited view of the prohibitory enactments of the Choctaw council. He said that some of the teachers and others had been accustomed to hold irregular schools on the Sabbath for slaves, and the new laws were supposed to have been directed particularly against them. These new laws, or rather these new enactments, no more atrocious than the former ones of long standing, afforded an occasion to the Board to do, under the outward pressure of an excited community, what it would not do in calm, deliberative moments, from principle, years since.

Again, it is said in your paper:

"It (the Board) proclaims the higher law of Christ in opposition to all anti-Christian legislation, and the duty of preaching the gospel to all persons, and of applying it to all phases of human character and conduct."

This is a most extraordinary averment. The Missionaries have not, so far as the Christian public know, been instructed to preach against

* This term is applied in the spirit of Matt. xii. 30.

the arbitrary and barbarous enactments (I will not call them laws) of the Choctaw nation, nor to oppose them in any way, nor to refuse obedience to them, except in the single case alluded to. They have, it is admitted, been told, that while the Choctaws allow them "to preach the gospel to all persons, of whatever complexion or condition, as they have opportunity, and to preach it in all its applications to human character and duty, they are to continue patiently in their work." Now, what sort of gospel is it the Board has in view? Mr. Treat, in his letter of 1848, recently endorsed by the Board, says, "We do not believe that every act of *slaveholding* is sinful. . . . We do not claim that either Christ or his Apostles expressly condemned this system (domestic Slavery) in the New Testament, although he elsewhere admits that it is at war with the rights of man, and opposed to the principles of the gospel. The Board says that slaveholding does not always, in their opinion, involve individual guilt in such a manner as to exclude every person implicated therein from Christian-fellowship."

Mr. Treat informed the Missionaries, also, that the Apostles did not affirm the sinfulness of Slavery, and insist upon emancipation, and that, for this policy, they found the amplest authority in the dealings of God with his covenant people, and in the life of Christ. He exhorted the Missionaries to preach against Slavery (but not against slaveholding), but said "when and where, you must judge." He told them that they must instruct slaveholding converts as to the sin, but added, "in your own time and way." And he furthermore said, "If a person may be the legal owner of slaves, and yet be free from all blame in the sight of God, then it is clearly wrong to say that no slaveholder shall be admitted to the church of Christ."

The Board, years since, decided that the ordinances of the gospel cannot be scripturally and rightfully denied to those converts (meaning slaveholding converts) who give evidences of piety; and that the Missionaries and the churches (in the Choctaw nation) are the sole judges of the sufficiency of this evidence. All that should be required is, that these supposed converts should prove themselves free from the guilt, not of holding men in bondage, but of treating them with cruelty, before they could make good their title "to a place among the followers of Christ."

Such, Mr. Editor, are the views held by the Board—such the instructions given to the Missionaries—and such the preaching to the slaveholders and the slaves. Is this the higher law of Christ? What wrong is done to the poor Indian—to his soul—in inculcating upon him that Christianity tolerates human bondage! What wrong is done to the slave, to his body and his soul!

Your article, derived from the *Independent*, says, in conclusion:

"This action covers the whole ground of duty for the Board in relation to Slavery. Henceforth there can arise no question of principle between the Board and the anti-slavery sentiment of the Christian public. . . . The whole subject of Slavery, in relation to the Missionary work, is settled upon the eternal basis of right."

Christian Abolitionists, in this country, will be

astonished at such an announcement. They are far from being satisfied with the late action of the Board. One step, they acknowledge, has been taken in the right direction, on the Slavery question, by this popular and influential body of ministers and laymen—only a step. They rejoice in it. Still they are constrained to believe that no material change has taken place in the minds of a majority of the Board on the momentous question of American Slavery—that its recent action was mainly brought about by an "outward pressure," that is, by the increased anti-slavery sentiment in the free States resulting from the encroachments of the slave power—and that, in the language of a distinguished member of the Board, who voted to endorse Mr. Treat's letter, since the Annual Meeting, to the writer, "there will not, I presume, be any change at the Indian Missions on the subject of Slavery." This result will not surprise those who believe that not a single member of the Board is, technically speaking, an Abolitionist, and who are advised that the Missionaries of the Board, among the Indians, contend that separating parents and children, by purchase and sale, is not a sufficient cause of church discipline.

These apprehensions acquire additional strength, when it is considered, to use the language of the Synod of Cincinnati, that the Board has allowed the Missionaries to receive slaveholders into Mission churches without questioning the lawfulness of the relation, and the Board itself defends the position; and that, in some respects, the Board does not now stand upon "the higher law of Christ," so much as it did twenty years ago. In one of the resolutions adopted at the late Meeting, the Missionaries are told, that while they are allowed by the Indian legislators to preach the gospel "in all its applications to human character and duty," as laid down in Mr. Treat's letter, of course "they are to continue patiently in their work." Contrast this with the instructions of the Board to Mr. Parker, a Missionary to China in 1834.

"If he (the Missionary) finds a people willing to receive him, he is to persevere in publishing to them the message of salvation, though laws and magistrates forbid, and even at the expense of liberty and life. He is not, indeed, to court persecution; but a people willing to receive the gospel are not to be abandoned, though all the enactments and powers of their rulers are arrayed against their instruction."* This is indeed "the higher law of Christ." Would that the American Board, other Missionary Societies in the country, and ministers of the gospel and religious editors, had kept it in mind, and faithfully and fearlessly practised it!

It is understood that the course pursued by the Missionaries has not changed since the date of Mr. Treat's letter of 1848; and the public has not been advised of a single instance of a slaveholder being denied admission to the church, or any case of discipline in consequence of members living in the sin of slaveholding. It is also

* Instructions given by Secretary Wisner to Rev. Peter Parker in New York, 1834.

well understood that Mr. Treat's letter would not have been endorsed, and the resolutions adopted, if two or three prominent members of the Board had not presented very cogent reasons in favour of these measures. For example, Rev. Dr. Beecher said, "If you fail to meet this issue, your influence is gone beyond the mountains. And you must do it now, or you never will have another chance." Rev. Dr. Pomeroy, one of the Secretaries, said, he felt that it might now be his duty to say that he believed that the feelings of the country are such, that though this action (a reference of the whole subject to the Prudential Committee for the purpose of giving it a quietus) might harmonize us here, it will not satisfy the people at large.

What will be said in England, Mr. Editor, of the declaration, in a professed anti-slavery newspaper in the United States, in view of these statements now submitted to your readers, that the whole subject of Slavery, in relation to the Missionary work, is settled upon the eternal basis of right," by the recent action of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, when it is patent to the world that the Board sustains Missionaries among the Indians who admit to church privileges slaveholders—those who buy and sell men, women, and children, nay, church members—Missionaries who contend that the gospel of Christ allows such atrocities, and that unless "overt acts" of cruelty are perpetrated, and it can be proved that the slaves are held from selfish purposes, they have a right to consider such church member "free from all blame in the sight of God?" They will say what has long been known to be true in this country, that the Abolitionists of America have not only to contend with the slave power, with a pro-slavery government, with ecclesiastical bodies and national Societies in complicity with Slavery, but with a large body of ministers, editors, and church members, in the free States, who style themselves anti-slavery people, and yet afford aid and countenance to the iniquitous system, by their apologies, mystifications, glosses, and mis-statements.

Respectfully yours,

LEWIS TAPPAN.

New York, Nov. 23, 1854.

We have not space to offer any comment upon the foregoing document, which so lucidly, and temperately, and in such a Christian spirit, presents the whole case against the *American Board*. Instead, we willingly make room for a letter which we have received from the Rev. C. G. Young, in reply to the article in our last Number.

In relation to the degree of credibility that is to be attached to the statements and representations of the Rev. Professor Peck, it is a point to be decided between that gentleman himself and Dr. Pomeroy, on whose single authority the Rev. C. G. Young contradicts the Professor's allegations. We submit, however, that on the real points at issue, namely: the character of the *American Board*, and the degree of confidence to which

its *anti-slavery* (?) is entitled, Mr. Young has stated nothing to place that Board in a more favourable position. With that gentleman, we have raised a distinct issue. He says the Board may have been pro-slavery in past years, but has now declared itself on the side of Abolition. We assert that what it was in past years, it is now; and though we will not say "it ever will be," we cannot yet discern any very decided signs of improvement. Mr. Treat's own letter of the 7th October last offers, in our opinion, conclusive evidence on this point, in support of which view the *Christian Press*, published by the *American Reform Tract and Book Society*, at Cincinnati, says:

"The position of the Board now is, as stated by authority, in substance this: Slaveholding in itself is not sinful: the abuses of the system are to be regulated: and slaveholders are not to be excluded from the Church.

"In the circumstances of the case, and with the last letter of Mr. Treat, as the explanation of the meaning of the action at Hartford, we are constrained to regard it as a nullity and a mockery."

"Western-Asia Missions-Aid Society,

"7 Adam Street, Strand, Dec. 13, 1854.

"To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*."

"SIR,—In your remarks in this month's *Reporter* on the American Board of Missions, you characterize the British movement in aid of Missions among the Armenians and Greeks of Turkey as involved in the support of the Slavery of North America. This is on the supposition that the American Board is pro-Slavery, and that this Association is under the control of the Board. Allow me to say that the Western-Asia Missions-Aid Society is in no sense under the control of the Board, any more than the Foreign-Aid and Evangelical Continental Societies are under the control of those bodies for which they raise funds to extend the evangelical work on the Continent of Europe: indeed, in this case the funds are not transmitted to the Board at all, but to the Missions in Turkey, which are allowed more independence of action than is the practice with Missionary Societies in Britain, as regards the management of local affairs.

"The Committee of this Society repudiate all sympathy with the Slavery of the United States: but even had the American Board been more involved in the support of Slavery than it is said to have been, through its Choctaw and Cherokee Missions in *past years*, they cannot see on what principle of sound reason they are to be discouraged in their efforts to convey to the Oriental churches the knowledge of the true gospel, and to extend the native agency under the superintendence of Missionaries of the Board, of some of whom I can speak from personal knowledge that they are earnest Abolitionists.

"The movement in Britain was purely spontaneous, arising from a conviction of the peculiar claims of those Western-Asia Missions at the present era in the world's history; and after

prolonged deliberation, it was decided to work through the experienced labourers already in the field, rather than to begin anew with a cumbrous machinery, and with raw recruits. You are under a mistake in supposing that the resolution of the Meeting of the Congregational Union in May either committed that body to the principles of the American Board, or led to the formation of this Association. I stated in few words on that occasion that I hoped the effect of this movement would be to induce the American churches to take right action on Slavery; and I am disposed to think so more than ever now that the American Board, which represents so many churches of the Congregational and Presbyterian communions, has in full assembly declared itself on the side of Abolition; and I believe that Abolitionists will accomplish more by encouraging them to persevere in their present course, than by constant upbraidings for their want of moral courage in the past. I have said thus much as the representative of the Western-Asia Missions-Aid Society, which has been, I must say, most unfairly misrepresented as though it were associated with the pro-Slavery Societies of the United States.

"If the money raised was appropriated to the Choctaw and Cherokee Missions, there might be reason for this alarm on the part of friends of the slave; but no fair parallel can be drawn between the Mission among the Red Indians of the West, and the Mission among the Armenians in the East, the members of which should be as free from the very suspicion of complicity in the support of Slavery as their brethren in the Sandwich Islands, also Missionaries of the American Board, who have been instrumental in effecting the liberation of 100,000 slaves—indeed, the whole nation—from the most degrading serfdom. And it is only just to the Members of the Choctaw and Cherokee Missions, to say, that they have done all that the intolerant laws of the tribes and the jealousy of the planters permit to them as residents in a slave country; and that they are not known to have acted in contravention of the anti-slavery principles involved in Mr. Treat's Letter of 1848. The probability is, that the growing intolerance of the slave-power among the Choctaws, together with the recent action of the American Board against these laws, will result in the breaking up of that Mission.

"There is a statement made at the close of the article in the *Reporter*, with a quotation from a sermon preached before the American Missionary Association by Professor Peck, in Sept. 1853, to which I must refer as conveying a most erroneous impression of the instructions of the Board to the Missionaries in the East. To say, as does Mr. Peck, that they are instructed to 'make no assault on the rites and ceremonies which the very Missionaries thus charged have described as being grossly idolatrous,' and that 'the Committee has refused to allow Missionaries to organise Churches for the shelter and culture of converts in the East,' is wholly untrue. I know that the Missionaries, as well as the Native Teachers, do speak most earnestly against the adoration of pictures and relics, and that there are more than twenty evangelical churches in Turkey under the care of the American Mission. So far from these men being timeservers, some have been repeatedly stoned,

and narrowly escaped with their lives, for their fearlessness in proclaiming the truth.*

"As I am not a representative of the American Board, I do not feel called upon, even were I competent, to refer in detail to the charges affecting the past principles and actions of that body. You are aware, however, of the decided ground taken at the recent Meeting in September; and a quotation from a letter of Mr. Treat, one of the Secretaries, will shew the position which it now holds. It is dated November 10, and is in reply to my inquiry concerning the present position of the Board respecting Slavery:

"You will have seen the doings of the Board at Hartford; and this action ought to relieve you. The complaint of Lewis Tappan and such men has been—"the letter of June 22, 1848, is good—admirable; but it is only the deliverance of the Committee—the Board have not sanctioned it." Here has been the ground of objection for some time past. Now the Board has done *formally* what had been done before by *implication*. . . . I have had the charge of the matter since the letter was issued; and I say positively; (1), the Committee have never swerved from the Letter by the breadth of a hair; (2), I have done all which I could do, wisely and consistently, to carry the doctrines of the letter into complete and successful operation. This subject has been my chief study and burden for six years; and you can judge, from the sentiments of the letter, whether I should be inclined to take too low a view of my personal responsibilities. If we fail hereafter in abiding by our principles, deal with us accordingly. Now we have a good answer to any and every questioner.

* Nov. 15 . . . Very severe charges, and most

* Among other unfounded charges against the Board, are those of tolerating caste and polygamy.

At a Missionary Conference held at Essex, Vermont, last spring, Dr. Pomroy made the following statement as to the connection of the Board with these evil systems.

Caste.

"India is the only country occupied by the Board where 'caste' prevails. The churches in that country connected with the American Board do not tolerate caste among their members and never did.

Polygamy.

"According to the best of our knowledge and belief, there is not a single case of polygamy in all the one hundred and three churches connected with our Missions. This fact certainly does not look as if the Board or its Missionaries were particularly anxious to uphold and perpetuate that sin. I believe there was an instance, a long time ago, in one of the Indian Missions, in which an old man, who was thought to be converted, had two wives. The old man said they were both his wives; for any thing he knew, the one as much as the other: and he did not know which to put away. Whether it was right or wrong, the fact is, the old man was received into the Church, and remained a member, I believe, till he died. This was many years since, and I am not aware that he has ever had any successor."

untrue, have been made in the official paper of the American Missionary Association, but we have let them pass; and we hope to do so hereafter, should such a course be pursued: since the Meeting at Hartford, however, the tone of that Society has greatly altered.'

"So much for Mr. Treat's letter. I find that many Abolitionists and abolition newspapers commend the Board for the decided action recently taken, and, on the other hand, the resolutions passed at Hartford are denounced by the planters and their organs, as 'abolitionist,' 'fanatical,' and 'tyrannous.' Since 1848, the Executive of the Board has taken anti-slavery action; and now the Board is itself committed to defend the cause of the Slave; so that I trust it will not be suspected of occupying neutral ground any more.

"I remain, Sir, yours respectfully,

"CUTHBERT G. YOUNG."

In conclusion, we have a word or two to say on the relation of the *Western-Asia Missions-Aid Society* to the *American Board*, and on the extent to which it, and those who support it, appear to us to stand committed to the latter body, and therefore to its policy.

Mr. Young says the Society he represents is not under the control of the *American Board*. We must leave the public to judge how far this is strictly correct, after reading the subjoined extract from the proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Board in October last (1854). The italics are our own:

"We have remarked, with peculiar satisfaction, the formation of a Society in England, under the auspices of distinguished statesmen and Christians, to contribute funds directly in aid of the Missions of this Board in the Turkish empire. In this interesting movement the Committee behold the consummation of an alliance with England, on behalf of Turkey, which they would hail with emotions of joy, as a bright harbinger of future and unbroken co-operation in the conquest of the world to the Redeemer."

As a more formal expression of the sense in which this "proffered aid," as it is called, was accepted by the *American Board*, the Committee proposed the following Resolutions, amongst others:

"Resolved, That this Board have heard, with the liveliest interest, of the Association recently organised in Great Britain in aid of American Missions in the East; that they regard this action of British Christians as a valuable expression of fraternal confidence and regard, and as a testimony before the world to the true catholicity of Evangelical Missions."

"Resolved, That in accepting this aid and trust, the Board pledge themselves not only to the faithful use of these transatlantic contributions, to their best discretion, but also to a deeper interest and livelier regard in all the numerous and useful Missions established by the Churches of Great Britain; and from this very time the Board anticipate a better and heartier co-operation in all those great Christian enterprises in which England, Scotland, America, and all of every tongue who love our Lord Jesus Christ shall constitute

one allied army for the subjection of the whole world to God."

The Resolutions were cordially adopted, and the gentlemen whose efforts in promoting the objects of the *Western-Asia Missions-Aid Society* had been most prominent, or whose names were most likely to strengthen the *American Board* in the position it assumed, were proposed and unanimously accepted as *Corresponding Members of the Board*. These gentlemen are, the Right Honourable the Earl of Shaftesbury; Sir E. N. Buxton, Bart.; the Hon. A. Kimbaird; and the Rev. Cuthbert G. Young; who thus find themselves placed in the same category as the Rev. S. I. Prime, (a member of the Committee on Armenian Missions), whom the *British and Foreign Bible Society* refused to receive in 1853, because he was a known pro-slavery advocate, though he had been delegated to represent the *American Bible Society* at the anniversary meeting of the former Association.

With all deference to the opinion of Mr. Young, we submit that the *American Board* have assumed—rightly or wrongly—the following position:

1st. That the establishment of the *Western-Asia Missions-Aid Society* has been formed to contribute funds directly in aid of the Missions of the Board in the Turkish Empire.

2ndly. That "British Christians," especially those who contribute to the funds of the new Society, have thereby expressed "fraternal confidence" in and "regard" for the *American Board*.

3rdly. That "aid and trust" have been proffered to the Board, which pledges itself to the "faithful use of these transatlantic contributions;" therefore, the Board also assumes a control over them, and consequently over the Society through which it proposes to administer those contributions.

How far the three distinguished philanthropists we have named may consider it to be their duty to remain connected with the *American Board* through the *Western-Asia Missions-Aid Society*, when the facts of the case have been submitted to them, it is not for us to say. We are, however, very strongly of opinion that the strength which the *American Board* will derive from, and the capital it will make out of their continued support of a Society so intimately connected with it, will inflict a real damage on the Anti-Slavery cause.

CIRCASSIAN SLAVE TRADE.

In our number for November last, we referred to the Firman recently issued by the Sultan of Turkey, abolishing the Circassian Slave Trade. We subjoin the text of this document as extracted from the public papers. It was addressed to Mustapha Pacha, General-in-Chief of the

Imperial army of Batoum. Another, similar in purport, was issued the same day, prohibiting the commerce in slaves from Georgia.

"Man is the most noble of all the creatures formed by the hand of God, who destined him to be happy in making him free born. But, contrary to that decision, the Circassians indulge in the strange habit of selling their children and relatives as slaves, and even of stealing children from each other, in order to sell them, like animals or articles of furniture. These proceedings, incompatible with the dignity of man, and contrary to the will of the Sovereign Creator, are altogether reprehensible, and I condemn them absolutely. Wherefore I have just given orders that, to prevent that state of things from being continued, counsels and directions should be given to the Circassians, and at the same time proper measures be adopted to prevent the embarkation of slaves on the coast; and in order that this decision be known to all the civil and military authorities in these districts, the present Firman has been rendered expressly by my Imperial Divan. Therefore, O Vizier, being thus informed of what I desire, you will proceed with that zeal and high intelligence which distinguish you, to make known my sovereign will to the Circassians, and all others concerned, by publishing it in the most detailed manner. You will do all that your sagacity and experience will suggest to you to put an end to the traffic, and to prevent the passage and embarkation of slaves in the waters within your jurisdiction; and besides, as it is urgent to punish all who contravene these orders, and are guilty of selling their children or their relatives, or the children or relatives of others, you will not lose sight of that point: in fine, you will pay every attention to do every thing indicated above, and you will shew full respect to the noble cipher with which the present document is adorned. Given in the second decade of the month of Mouharrem 1271—beginning of October 1854."

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

THE subject of the slave-trade has again engaged the attention of the House of Commons. On the 22d ultimo, and in accordance with a notice previously given by him, Sir G. B. Pechell asked the following question:

"He wished to know whether any information had been received that the new Government in Spain had given effect to those decrees relative to the abolition of the slave-trade and the registration of slaves in the island of Cuba, which were issued about the month of June last? Also, whether the number of our cruisers on the coasts of Cuba had been increased, as was promised last Session, and in conformity with the report of the Select Committee on Slave-Trade Treaties?"

"Lord J. Russell, in reply, had to state that the late Governor of Cuba had certainly put in execution the decrees, to which the honourable and gallant officer had referred, with great zeal. With respect to the new Governor-General, Concha, no accounts had yet been received at the

Foreign Office of his proceedings so as to enable Her Majesty's Government to give information to the House; but he might state that, previous to leaving Madrid in August last, he gave an assurance to Lord Howden, our ambassador, that in every thing that related to the fraudulent admission of negroes to Cuba, the British Government would find him a vigorous and uncompromising enemy of the slave-trade, and that he was determined to enforce the slave treaties entered into by Spain with this country. He trusted that General Concha, who held a high character, would fulfil strictly that promise. With respect to the number of cruisers on the coast of Cuba, he could not give an answer to the question; but probably his right honourable friend the First Lord of the Admiralty would be able to satisfy his honourable and gallant friend.

"Sir J. Graham could only state, that since the end of the Session the squadron in those seas had been very largely augmented. His attention had been called to the importance of using every exertion for the suppression of the slave-trade on the coast of Cuba. What the present disposition of that force might be he could not exactly say, as the largest discretion had been left to the commander on the station; but he might say that, if General Concha's promises, to which his noble friend had just referred, were fulfilled, the exertions on his part for the suppression of the slave-trade would be infinitely more effectual than any augmentation of our cruisers."

There is no doubt that, in making this assertion, Sir James Graham only stated an admitted fact, namely, that it is in the power of the Captain-General of Cuba to suppress the slave-trade to that island. If this be correct—and we have authority on which we can asseverate that it is so—we would ask why, when General Concha was in office before, he did not take measures to put down the traffic? Or why every other Captain-General, without a solitary exception, has not made attempts in the same direction? We should like to know what are the substantial reasons Government can give for expressing so great a degree of confidence in Concha, in the face of his former acts, and in the teeth of the most convincing proofs he has given under his own hand, that he regards the importation of slaves as the best means of keeping up the labouring population of the island. Of what value are the assurances we are informed he gave to Lord Howden? The Spanish Cabinet has made such, over and over again, on behalf of its delinquent officials, who have—even to O'Donnell, the most notorious of them—issued proclamations declaratory of their determination to put down the slave-trade, but who have never been proof against the bribes which the slave-traders' agents knew well how to offer so as not to compromise the receiver.

With respect to the squadron, the assent given by the House to Sir James Graham's opinion, namely, that the fulfilment of the promises made by Concha would be infinitely

more effectual for the suppression of the traffic than any augmentation of our naval force on the coast, seems to indicate that the results of the cruising system strike the House as being somewhat problematical. What, indeed, are the facts? That so long as the Brazilian market remained open, there was no dearth of slaves to supply the demand, though the cruisers may be assumed to have done their best to intercept the slavers.

This fact is proved by the returns of the numbers of slaves landed in Brazil, in consecutive years, as published in the *Blue Books* and re-printed in this Journal. We believe the traffic to that country has now ceased. This encouraging circumstance, however, has not been determined by the efficiency of the cruising system, but is due to the vigorous steps which the Brazilian Government itself took to accomplish what the squadron could not. From the moment that Government shewed itself to be in earnest, the traffic virtually ceased. By a parity of reasoning, therefore, it is to be presumed that if the Spanish Government and the Captain-General were as sincere and as determined as they profess to be, the suppression of the Cuban slave-trade could be immediately accomplished. It does, therefore, appear to be a reckless waste of the money, means, and men, employed in this cruising-system, when a Minister of the Crown does not hesitate to declare to the House of Commons that there is a more effectual mode of attaining the same end.

LIBERIA.

WE have received an extremely interesting letter, relating to Liberia, which we have been requested to publish. We think the friends of the African race cannot but view with satisfaction the progress of a colony which, by setting a noble example of self-government, is calculated to exercise a highly beneficial influence on the destinies of the people of that vast continent. Taking the Republic of Liberia as it stands, and viewing it as a potent auxiliary in the cause of African civilization, it presents a most interesting spectacle to the world, vindicating most triumphantly the negro race from the charge of incapacity and unfitness for liberty, thereby recording an unanswerable protest against the system of Slavery. Whatever views we may entertain of the *Colonization Society*, under the fostering care of whose friends Liberia has risen into importance; and dissenting, as we do, from many of the doctrines which some of the supporters of that Society have publicly advocated, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that Liberia herself has already accomplished much for African freedom, and proved a potent instru-

mentality in the suppression of the slave-trade wherever she could make her nascent powers and local influence felt. She has concluded treaties with a goodly number of the native chiefs of the interior, by which they have bound themselves, not only to discontinue dealing in slaves, but to refer to arbitration those inter-tribal differences so frequent a source of war, and furnishing the principal sources from which the slave-trade was fed. Let the civilizing influences of commerce but have a fair field, and the slave-trade, as well as domestic slavery, will disappear from the coast. In another point of view Liberia is also of great importance. The soil is capable of yielding cotton and sugar in abundance, as well as other tropical products. Her citizens are making vigorous efforts to extend their cultivation, thus striking a blow at the very heart of the slave-holding system, and working in this direction for the cause of negro emancipation. It will be observed that our correspondent touches on these and on other not less interesting points. He says:

"Any quantity of *free-labour* coffee can be grown in Liberia, provided suitable capital and labour be bestowed upon it. But palm-oil is the great staple of Liberia now. This article is exceedingly high in price, and the consumption in Great Britain and the United States is increasing with the greatest rapidity. Ground nuts for the manufacture of oil is an exceedingly important article of export for the French, and the English are getting more into the use of it. The French employ it as a salad oil, also for burning and for lubricating machinery. Camwood (a dye wood), ivory, arrowroot, and some gold dust, are the principal other articles of export from Liberia. But sugar can be made in any quantity, and the best cotton growing indigenously—both these valuable products can be supplied in unlimited quantities by the due application of capital and labour.

"The principal defect of Liberia is the absence of a good port or harbour. Along the whole coast, for 700 miles, this great comfort and convenience is not found. If the British nation would kindly give Sierra Leone to the Republic of Liberia, it would be of extraordinary value to the recipient, and would not be of any loss to the liberal donor. Sierra Leone has an admirable harbour and bay; but its climate is deadly for whites, and fifty or sixty British white subjects die there annually, whilst, if the colony were given up to the black Liberians, they would organize a self-government there among the black inhabitants, who in a few years would become a self-dependent, intelligent, and energetic people, and promote the commerce of Britain with the interior in a most successful manner. As long as Sierra Leone is governed by whites, the poor blacks have no chance in competition with them, and they remain an indolent, unenterprising, listless, and unimproving people. Give them self-government, as they would have by association with the Liberians, and you would soon find as industrious, as spirited, as intelligent,

and as progressive a people as their neighbours of Liberia. There is nothing like self-government and self-dependence to promote the moral and material improvement of a people. The blacks of Sierra Leone will prove that they are as competent to govern themselves as the Liberians have done, if you will give them an opportunity. But as long as they are kept under, or overshadowed by the whites, they will no more flourish in Sierra Leone than have done the free people of colour in the United States. Whites and blacks must be separated—must be kept asunder. The superior race will dominate the inferior race, and never will live harmoniously and happily together. Let them be separated! Let Sierra Leone be married to Liberia, and there will be a happy union and a highly progressive and flourishing people. The blacks themselves, who are the great mass of the population, are in favour of union with Liberia, but the few whites are opposed to it, as it would diminish their consequence and interfere with their exclusive privileges. Sierra Leone is intended for the blacks, not for the whites—the interests of the former, not those of the latter, ought to be regarded. The British Government would profit by giving up Sierra Leone, as an annual large expenditure for maintenance would be saved. Although there is territorial jurisdiction, the British Government have none but leasehold property there—they have no *freehold* property in the whole colony. An arrangement might be made, if desirable, for the maintenance of a naval dépôt, a military station and hospital, &c., under the English flag, as one of the conditions of cession to the Republic of Liberia. I hope, Mr. Editor, you will bring this important matter before your numerous and influential readers."

We think the suggestion of "giving" or ceding Sierra Leone to Liberia quite worthy of serious consideration, though we are not prepared suddenly to give any decided opinion upon it. The project presents itself favourably, and seems to promise some advantages. We shall probably refer to it in a future Number. We cannot, however, close this article without adverting to another circumstance with which we are sure it will interest our friends to be made acquainted. Mr. Martin Farquhar Tupper (the distinguished author of many well-known works of great merit), has conceived the happy idea of offering a gold medal, for the encouragement of a Liberian literature, which medal is to be awarded under the following conditions:

"1. The successful competitor must be a Liberian citizen, male or female, and a person of fair moral repute.

"2. The subject for competition is to be announced annually by the President in Council, on the _____ day of _____ in each year.

"3. The holder of the medal may compete again so as to hold it against all comers.

"4. The judges in each year are to be appointed by the President in Council:—unless—

"5. He himself be a competitor, in which case the Vice-President, and so on.

"6. The holder is to possess the medal for a

year, and to have the privilege of wearing it on all proper social or public occasions; with such precedence as the President in Council may see fit to allow. When he does not wear the medal, or after he has ceased to hold it, he is to be at liberty to wear a white riband at the button-hole; and his name as a gold medallist is to be publicly recorded wherever the President (as aforesaid) may please. The intention being that such former, or actual, holders receive thereby for life some acknowledged honour and precedence among their fellow-citizens.

"7. Seeing that the medal is to descend, the actual holder is to be reasonably responsible for its safe custody and proper usage, in its case, and with its appendages.

"8. Copies of the medal, in other metals than gold, may be procured and kept by former holders, but in no case may be worn. And the gold, as well as the privilege of wearing it, is to be unique.

"9. The intention of the donor being to elevate the African mind, it is suggested that *merely* mercantile theses be avoided: that subjects such as—The future of Africa,—The wrongs of the Race,—African Patriotism,—Christianity among the Sons of Ham,—The Astronomy of the Southern Hemisphere,—General Literature (especially with reference to African church classics, or Carthage—or Morocco—or Egypt—or Abyssinia, &c.)—or subjects relating to trade and merchandise in connection with civilization, liberty, and religion; or, as has been first (at the donor's suggestion, and by the presidential request), propounded, such locally patriotic theses as "National Lyrics,"—Liberian History,—Local Biography, and so forth,—be the classes of topics proposed for competition.

"10. To avoid the possible case of an unworthy award, if there be no worthy candidate, the medal is to be in abeyance, under the President's custody.

"11. The donor feels it to be a privilege to have suggested, and to have been permitted to carry into effect, an idea so well calculated (if well worked out), to elevate and to unite the citizens of Liberia: but he requests that the medal may *not* be called by his name; on its impress (beyond a microscopic monogram), it bears no such personal allusion; and he desires that it may be known simply as THE LIBERIAN LITERARY MEDAL."

We have been kindly favoured with a view of the medal. It is of pure gold, and enclosed in a neat morocco case, lined with white satin. It is appended to a ribbon—red with a blue stripe—and a clasp. On one side of the medal is a simple wreath of oak and laurel (as on an English shilling, only in inverse order), bearing round it the inscription, *For the first Man of his year*, and within it, the remainder of the motto, namely, *In the Literature of Liberia*. Beneath are the monogrammatic initials, M. F. T. On the obverse is seen the sun rising out of the ocean. In the immediate foreground is a group of the implements of husbandry, at the foot of a palm-tree; and in the intermediate space, a vessel heavily laden is spreading every

sail to the wind, apparently bound for a foreign port, as her prow stands seawards. Above the vessel a dove is seen descending, bringing a scroll, probably emblematical of the opening intercourse of the Republic with other nations, and of her peaceful disposition. This picture is enclosed within a neat border, on which are inscribed the words: *The love of Liberty brought us here.*

We are informed that several competitors are on the lists, some of the compositions having been already received. We hope soon to be able to inform our readers of the first result of this interesting experiment.

Advertisements.

THE SLAVE.

THIS little monthly Anti-slavery Journal, which has been long conducted by our friends at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and which has rendered good service to the cause, will be issued, with the new year, from London, and under fresh editorship. Its late conductors have felt compelled, from ill health, to relinquish its charge; and as it did not seem desirable to the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society that they should assume the responsibility of a second periodical, the editorship will now pass into the hands of our highly esteemed friend, Elihu Burritt; and the *Slave* will henceforth be published at the Free Labour Dépôt, 22 Broad Street Buildings, London, to which address all communications should be forwarded.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.

NEATLY BOUND, WITH A PORTRAIT.

SLAVE LIFE IN GEORGIA.

BEING THE NARRATIVE OF

JOHN BROWN,

A Fugitive Slave now in England.

EDITED BY

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW,

Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

THIS narrative will present a faithful picture of slave life on the Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Plantations of the South. It will also embrace some interesting details relating to the internal Slave-Trade, and to the system of Negro stealing, with minute particulars of the Slave Auctions and Slave-pens of

Virginia, New Orleans, &c. After three unsuccessful attempts, the subject of this narrative effected his escape, having endured many years of suffering, under various masters, and been twice "willed away," and three times sold. The object of publishing this account of his life, sufferings, adventures, and escape, — apart from that of diffusing information — is to raise a sum sufficient to enable him to settle either on the West Coast of Africa, or in one of the West-India islands, to cultivate cotton, and to prove, in his own person, that it can be produced so as to remunerate those who raise it. He proposes to labour with his own hands, and is only anxious to render himself independent by that labour, and to demonstrate that the Negro is as capable of self-exertion, and of elevating himself, as his more favoured white brother, needing only the same incentives.

The Editor will be glad to reply to any communications that may be addressed to him relating to John Brown.

N.B. This volume will be issued from the Office of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, No. 27, New Broad Street, London; and Booksellers and Subscribers are respectfully solicited to forward their orders to the Editor, addressing as above.

The Editor thinks it due to himself to state that, owing to John Brown's absence from London, the press had to be stopped, as it was necessary that the proofs should be read to him. This circumstance caused a delay which the Editor much regrets, as the narrative has been extensively in demand. He can, however, now promise subscribers, that it will be ready in a very few days. It is being carried through the press with every possible dispatch.

FREE LABOUR REFINED SUGAR.

FREDERIC WHEELER has the satisfaction of announcing that he expects, in a few days, to be in a situation to offer to such of the Trade as are interested in the sale of Free Labour Sugars, samples of CRUSHED LUMPS, and PIECES in Tierces, with *satisfactory guarantee of the entire absence of SLAVE LABOUR* material, at a commission of sixpence per cwt. on the Refiner's prices.

The apparatus for the manufacture of TITLERS will, it is hoped, be ready in a few weeks.

Strood, Kent, 12 month 27, 1854.

LONDON: Printed by WILLIAM MAVOR WATTS, at No. 12, Crown Court, Pickett Place, Strand, in the Parish of St. Clement Danes, in the County of Middlesex; and published by PETER JONES BOLTON, of No. 8, Kennington Terrace, Kennington Lane, in the County of Surrey, at No. 27, New Broad Street, in the Parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, in the City of London. — MONDAY, JANUARY 1, 1855.

London: 27 New Broad Street, City; where all orders should be sent.